ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN ONTARIO

BARBARA J. BURNABY, Principal Investigator

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Ministry of Education
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"The earth is like a great heart for all things living, and we make up only a very small part of it. Take care of it as you would take care of yourself. The earth works like a heart and if it ever stops beating, all mankind will die. The Ojibway language is a very great language and blends with a natural relationship with the Universe. In it are naturalistic and humanistic concepts to give us meaning that relates to human and natural behaviour. but with far more expression than many other languages. The power of speech is a great gift, and serves as a messenger of the spirits....When the language dies, the way of living dies with it. Sadly such a passing of time goes unnoticed." (Chief Gabriel Echum. Ontario. Hearings of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. Geraldton, November 28, 1977. P. 1361)

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Executive Summary

This report outlines the basic characteristics of Native languages in Ontario, the degree to which they are being maintained, and the aspirations which Native people have for their development in the future. Only those Native languages which have been spoken in what is now Ontario for many generations and which now have speakers living here are considered. The author does not relate the issue of language maintenance with that of cultural development, but Native views on that issue are reported.

There are two Native language families in Ontario, the Algonquian and the Iroquoian. In the Algonquian language family, the languages which are spoken in Ontario are Cree, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Delaware. In the Iroquoian language family there are speakers of Mohawk, Oneida, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Tuscarora living in the province. All of these languages are as complex and varied as English or French in terms of their grammatical and lexical structures, as well as in the styles and functions in which they can be used. Although the languages within each Native language family are related, they are not necessarily mutually intelligible. The differences between the two families are great, so that it would be as difficult for a speaker of Cayuga to learn Cree as it would be for an English speaker to learn Japanese. On most Ontario reserves, only one Native language is spoken, but there are exceptions.

Approximately 71 per cent of Ontario status Indians are of Algonquian ancestry, and 29 per cent Iroquoian. Figures from the 1981 Census of Canada show that Ojibwe is the language with the most reported mother tongue speakers -- 7565, Cree is next with 7370, and other Algonquian languages show 105, all Iroquoian languages as 545, and "other Indian", 6325. According to a report from the National Museum of Man, only Cree and Ojibwe in Ontario are not in danger of extinction on the basis of the number of estimated speakers.

A comparison of the 1971 and 1981 census figures on mother tongue and the language most often spoken in the home among ethnically Native people in Ontario indicates that Native languages are being consistently given up in favour of English at the rate of 25 to 30 per cent among Native mother tongue speakers. There is no reciprocal trend to the adoption of Native languages among English-speaking Native people. In 1971, 42 per cent of Ontario Native people said that a Native language was their mother tongue. In 1981 the figure was 15 per cent. In 1971, 33 per cent of those who declared themselves ethnically Native said that a Native language was most often spoken in their home. In 1981, it was 12 per cent. Native language use is more frequent in isolated northern areas than in more southern communities.

There are roman orthographies developed for all Native languages in Ontario. In addition, a syllabic writing system is used in many northern communities among Cree and Ojibwe speakers. Literacy in the Native languages is not much used for communication either within Native communities or among them. However, uses are growing, the most notable of which is the use of Cree and Ojibwe syllabics in [Wawatay News], a newspaper published by the Wa-Wa-Ta Communications Society.

Native objectives for Native language development described in this report are unanimous in pressing for activities that would support the maintenance of the languages among speakers and Native language teaching to Native students who do not speak them now. The focus of attention is on schooling in which Native languages can be supported or introduced. Teacher training, curriculum and materials development, and other support facilities for education are advocated. In addition, there is an expressed need for other aspects of language support, such as Native community awareness of the value of Native languages, the development of dictionaries and similar language resources, technical facilities (e.g.

typewriters, letraset, and other publishing tools), broadcasting programming in Native languages, and training for translators and interpreters. A number of authors have stated that Native identity is closely linked with the preservation of the Native languages.

In this report the published opinions of Native people and others with regard to the development of Native languages are discussed. There is also a brief description given of Native language development activities that are not reflected in published documents. The latter is given so that a full view of the impetus for the development of Native languages, through action as well as words, can be recognized in this account of Native views.

I. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the aboriginal languages of Ontario. In conformity with current practice, the term "Native" is used here to refer to aboriginal people, specifically those people who inhabited North America in about 1500 (that is, before the period of significant European migration to this continent) and their descendants. Thus the term "Native language" refers to their ancestral languages. The Native languages considered here are only those that have been spoken in Ontario for generations and still have some speakers today. Thus, mention is not made of Native languages, which are indigenous to other parts of North America and are now spoken in Ontario by a few Native people who moved to the province in this generation, such as Inuktitut, Dogrib, or Micmac. Also languages, such as Assiniboine, which may have been spoken in Ontario in the past but which now are only spoken elsewhere, and Huron, which was spoken here at one time but now does not have any speakers, not treated.

This paper begins with a description of the main characteristics of Ontario's Native languages as they are both spoken and written. The degree to which they are being maintained in the face of the need to use Canada's official languages is examined through estimates of the number of Native-language speakers and through trends in language use. A brief outline is provided of the history of the administration of Native affairs in areas affecting Native language. Recent expressions of Native aspirations regarding the development of Ontario Native languages are outlined and discussed. Finally, the use of language in education, religion, regular community communications, and contact with large, non-Native institutions such as courts and hospitals are mentioned to indicate ways in which Native people and others are currently involved in developing Native languages. This paper does not formally examine the relationship between the maintenance of Native languages and Native cultural development. However, such topics cannot be neglected. In this regard, David White of Walpole Island says:

> Issues concerning the relationship between Native languages and cultural development are very important, and cannot be ignored. Education, religion, economy, and government are parts of the totality of Native culture and will provide ultimately the question of language revival, maintenance, or its demise (David White, personal communication).

II. Characteristics of Ontario Native Languages

In Ontario there are ten Native languages associated with two language families, Algonquian and Iroquoian. Language families are groups of languages that are historically related and usually retain a common basis of grammar and vocabulary, but are distinct from one another in some ways. Examples are the Romance language family, which subsumes French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and others, and the Slavic language family, which subsumes Czech, Slovak, Polish, Russian, and others. The Algonquian and Iroquoian language families are even more different from each other than the Slavic languages are from the Romance since Slavic and Romance languages have a common relationship in their Indo-European background. There are marked historical and cultural differences between the two Native groups as well, but linguistic differences are not necessarily co-extensive with cultural differences.

Algonquian and Iroquoian languages are rich, complex languages. They have rules for word and sentence formation as complicated as those of English or French. Thus, these languages cannot be considered "primitive". These rules differ not only from those of European languages but also among the Native language families. This means, among other things, that it would be as difficult for a speaker of an Iroquoian language, say Cayuga, to learn Cree,an Algonquian language, as it would for an English speaker to learn Japanese.

All Native languages have rich vocabularies and the means for expressing abstract

social and intellectual ideas. As does English, they also have various styles of expression to differentiate formal and informal speech, poetry, story telling, jokes, and so on. They can express mathematical and scientific ideas suitable to the technologies of the cultures they exist in. In the Native languages that are dying out, some of the vocabulary and grammatical complexity of the language is typically reduced (Miller 1971; Bauman 1981). This phenomenon appears to occur because speakers tend not to retain complex grammatical rules or obscure lexical items if such forms are not in normal use. Among the Native languages that are flourishing, new grammatical forms and vocabulary are often created as a result of social or spontaneous linguistic change because all vital languages grow and develop as the needs and culture of the speech community change.

The Algonquian Languages

The Algonquian language family is the largest of Canada's eleven Native language families in terms of breadth of geographic distribution, number of speakers, and number of people who have one of these languages as an ancestral language. The territory of the entire Algonquian language family extends from Labrador to the foothills of the Rockies and from the southern border of the Northwest Territories to the central United States. The Algonquian languages of Ontario are Cree, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Delaware. All of these languages are also spoken elsewhere on the continent. Algonquian languages not spoken in Ontario include Micmac, Montagnais, Blackfoot, Fox, Menominee, and others.

It is important to note here that there is no one, clear definition of what a language is. In this paper, the Algonquian and Iroquoian families are divided into languages on technical, linguistic grounds. However, some of the dialects of what is called Ojibwe here could be considered languages in their own right. For example, Odawa, a dialect spoken on Manitoulin Island and the north shore of Lake Huron, is considered by its speakers to be a language separate from the rest of Ojibwe. Ojibwe dialects may also be associated with other languages. For example, the language spoken in and around Big Trout Lake is locally called Cree, although it can be considered Ojibwe on linguistic evidence.

Cree is spoken along the James Bay and Hudson Bay coasts and in two inland communities on tributaries of the Albany River along which Cree people from the coast have migrated (see Map 1). There are two main dialects used within Ontario borders; Moose Cree, which is spoken at Moosonee and Moose Factory, and Swampy Cree which is spoken elsewhere. There are lesser dialect distinctions among Ontario Swampy Cree speakers as well (Rhodes and Todd 1981:55).

The territory for Ojibwe is virtually the whole of the rest of the province (see Map 2). It can be divided into the six dialect areas shown, although there is some controversy over these classifications (Rhodes and Todd 1981:54-5). Map 3 shows the tiny Potawatomi- and Delaware-speaking areas. There are more Potawatomi speakers around the Great Lakes in the United States and in western states such as Kansas where the Potawatomi were driven by the U.S. government in order to make way for settlers in the eastern and midwestern states. Ontario Potawatomi speakers live in Ojibwe communities and usually speak both Potawatomi and Ojibwe. The Ontario Delawares also have relatives in Oklahoma. Their settlements in Ontario were established soon after the American War of Independence, when Delawares accompanied the British allied Iroquois into British North America.

Traditionally Algonquian people are hunter-gatherers. Their nomadic way of life often took them many miles during their annual cycle through seasonally appropriate hunting and fishing grounds. Part of the cycle was spent travelling and hunting in small family groupings while at other parts of the year they met in larger groups. The fur trade, the establishment of reserves, compulsory schooling, and other factors have influenced most Algonquian people to give up the nomadic existence, but some northern people still spend at least part of the year on the land.

Farming practices also existed among southern Algonquian peoples, for example, the Potawatomis are sometimes called "the melon growers". The Delawares have been called

Map One

Distribution of Cree Communities

Map Two

Distribution of Ojibwe Communities

Map Three

Distribution of Potawatomi and Delaware Communities

"Mandamin", the Ojibwe word for corn, even north of where corn can be grown. The Ojibwes probably had a farmer or two in their ancestry, given family names such as Manndamin, the Chief of the White Dog reserve (David White, personal communication).

In light of this cultural structure and its patterns of intergroup contact, it is not surprising that most Algonquian languages have a number of dialects. There is a continuum of linguistic variance from community to community so that each community is likely to have distinct patterns of speech that can easily be recognized by other speakers. People who come from one community can generally understand the speech of people from neighbouring communities but may have difficulty understanding people from increasingly distant places (John Nichols and Marguerite Mackenzie, personal communication). These patterns are disturbed to some extent by migration, marriage patterns, the spontaneous development of languages, and other factors. Of course, English and most other languages have dialect differences as well. But with Algonquian languages, no one dialect has emerged as the standard. The lack of a standard dialect allows for equal recognition and authority for all dialects, but creates difficulties in determining how to speak or write any text that is intended for all Crees or all Ojibwes.

The Iroquoian Languages

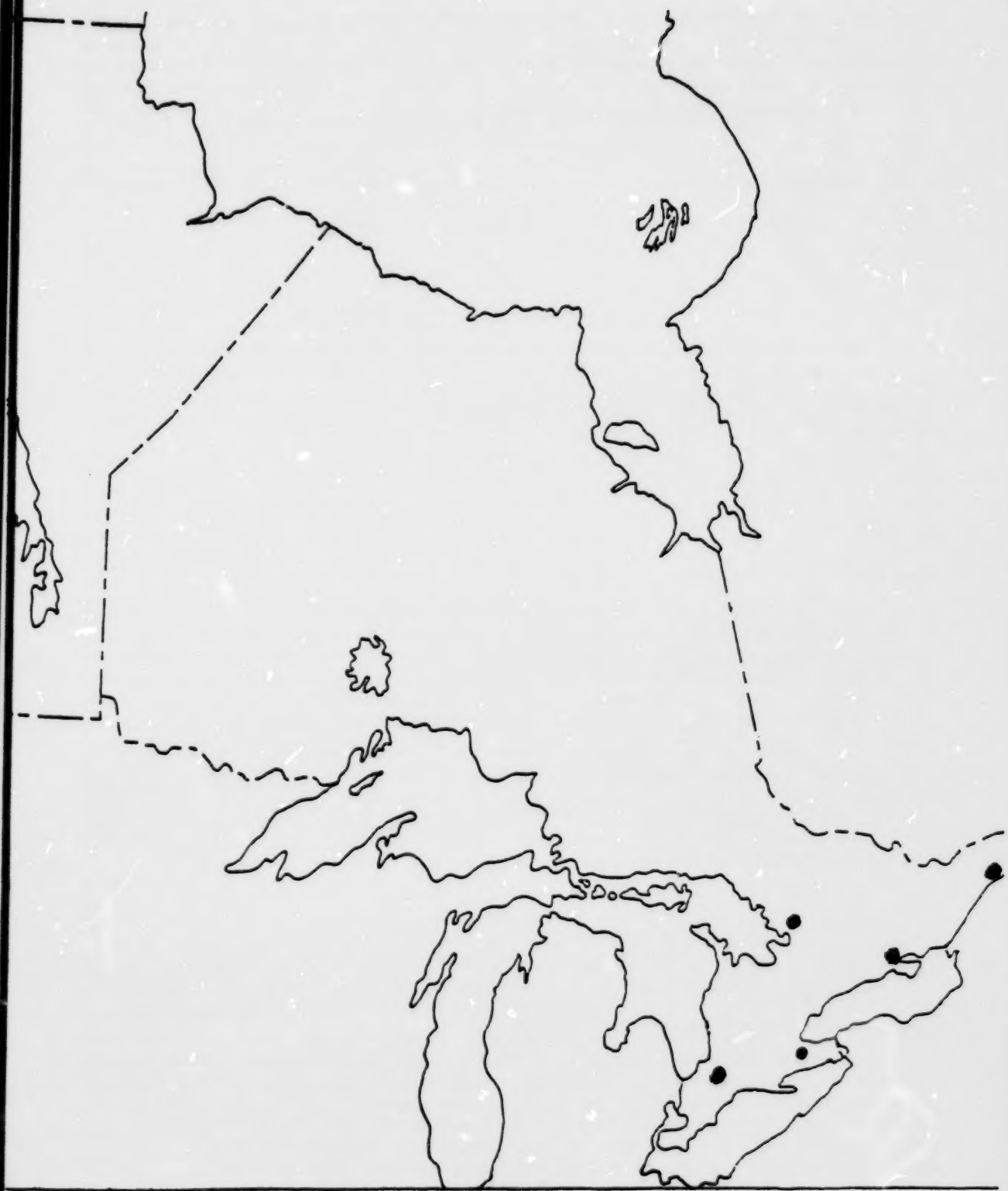
As a group, the Iroquoians extend from southern Ontario to the southern Appalachian states, and from the Appalachian mountains to Oklahoma. Outside of Ontario, most Iroquoians now live in New York State, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, or Quebec. The Ontario Iroquoian languages are Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca, Tuscarora, and Oneida. The main Iroquoian language not represented in Ontario is Cherokee.

Although some Iroquoian people, particularly the Huron, lived and travelled in southern Ontario from before the time of first European contact, present Iroquoian patterns of residence were not established until after the American War of Independence. At that time some Iroquois of the Six Nations, who had been living in the Finger Lakes region, were given land in British North America along with other United Empire Loyalists. The main group, under the leadership of Joseph Brant, settled in the valley of the Grand River where they were given a six-mile strip of land on each side of that river. Since 1784 this area has been considerably reduced. A second group under the leadership of John Deseronto settled at the same time on the Bay of Quinte. In addition there is the St.Regis reserve, which includes within its boundaries sections of Ontario, Quebec, and New York State. Also, a group of Mohawks from Caughnawaga in Quebec came to settle on the Gibson reserve near Bala, Ontario in the early 1880s (see Map 4).

Unlike many other North American Native groups, the Algonquians included, the Iroquois independently developed a sophisticated political confederacy among six of their tribal groups: the Mohawks, Cayugas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Senecas. Their long-established way of life based on horticulture as well as on hunting set them apart in the eyes of many Europeans and also gave them an advantage over other Native groups as traders or political intermediaries. When they moved to the new communities in Ontario, they established large and relatively dense settlements, since they were not used to nomadic ways such as those required by the hunter-gatherer economies of the Algonquians. At present the Six Nations reserve, with 10 367 inhabitants, is Canada's largest in terms of population.

Algonquians also had a complex clan system and a political alliances that sometimes included the Senecas. Modern views of these political systems are often clouded by historical accounts, for example, by British accounts of Indians (mainly Iroquois) who were allied with them in wartime. Some Algonquian groups settled among the Iroquois in southern Ontario, namely the Mississauga of the New Credit and the Tateloes. The Delawares also had close connections with the Iroquois (David White, personal communication).

Only Mohawks settled on the Bay of Quinte, on the St. Regis reserve, or at Gibson, while members of all six tribal groups settled on the Grand River. Although the six groups originally were spread out in separate settlements along the Grand River, there are now two



Map Four

Distribution of Iroquoian Communities

reserves of Iroquoians in that area. One was established after Brant's time near London, Ontario, for the Oneida people and the other around Brantford for the Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas. A few Tuscaroras and Senecas live on the Six Nations reserve, but most are in New York State.

There are some dialect differences among Mohawk speakers from the Six Nations reserve, the Bay of Quinte, St.Regis, and Gibson, but there is no problem of intelligibility among them. Mohawk is closely related to Oneida, so that there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility among speakers of those languages. Similarly, Seneca and Cayuga speakers understand each other quite well. Onondaga falls between these pairs of languages, so that Onondaga speakers can understand some Mohawk and some Seneca even though there is little mutual intelligibility between Mohawk and Seneca. Tuscarora is very different from the other languages and there is no mutual intelligibility (Hickerson, Turner, and Hickerson 1952). Apart from these patterns of mutual intelligibility, a number of Iroquoian speakers on the Six Nations reserve are fluent in more than one Iroquoian language.

An important influence on Iroquoian language and cultural development is the religious movement begun at the turn of the nineteenth century by a Seneca man named "Ga-ne-o-di-yo" or Handsome Lake. The Six Nations had previously held religious beliefs that were supported and celebrated in their political and social system. The new code of behaviour advocated by Handsome Lake was consistent with the older beliefs but reaffirmed the need for adherence to strict moral standards. This religious movement remains strong today as the "longhouse" religion. Since its ceremonies are still carried out in the Iroquoian languages, it provides an incentive for Native language development and retention among adherents.

Summary

Any Native language development plans for Ontario must take into account that there are ten different languages in the province. In addition, Cree, Ojibwe, and Mohawk have internal dialect divisions. None of Ontario's Native languages are standardized, that is, no one dialect, style of pronunciation, set of grammatical rules, or selection of vocabulary items is universally accepted for purposes such as public media use, book editing, and so on. Also, all Native languages in Ontario are complex and as difficult to learn as any other language.

These characteristics imply that a great deal of work at local levels is necessary for most kinds of language development. Some of this work might be reduced slightly if dialect groups could work together to produce mutually satisfactory solutions, for example, a standardized writing systems that could be read acceptably in two or more dialects. Such efforts could, however, create more tension than they would relieve if some groups felt that their local traditions were being neglected or denigrated in favour of other groups.

Geographically, the Native languages are distributed in Ontario so that most reserves have residents who speak only one Native language. This distribution, at least simplifies the problems of local language development. There are exceptions, however. There is some dialect and even language mixing in most communities because of intermarriage. Some communities are bilingual (for example, Constance Lake) because one group migrated into the territory of another. The multilingual situation on the Six Nations is unique, since it involves all the Iroquoian languages.

In urban areas there is likely to be a mixing of language and dialects among Native residents. In some cases, mixing of languages occurs in both federal and provincial schools and other facilities shared by several neighbouring reserves even though the reserves themselves may not be mixed linguistically, for example, the Standing Stone School on the Oneida reserve. This means that at least most local attempts at Native language development activities should be able to concentrate on one language. The possibility of mixed situations, especially in schools, should be kept in mind, however.

Demographic Information

The 1981 Census of Canada shows that there were 110 060 people in Ontario who consider themselves Native or partly Native in ancestry. They comprise 1.3 per cent of the total population of Ontario. Of these, 64 per cent claim to be status Indians, 35 per cent to be non-status Indians or Metis, and 1 per cent Inuit.

Language Affiliation

It is important to be cautious when dealing with figures regarding language. Accurate tests of language proficiency are time-consuming and expensive, so carefully tested language data on large populations are rare. Self-reported language information should be treated carefully since various factors may influence people to give inaccurate information. Also, names for linguistic and cultural affiliation may be misleading. As Rhodes and Todd point out (1981:64), in several areas of Algonquian territory people have a name for the language they speak, but the linguistic evidence suggests that their language really fits with that of another group.

The easiest figures to deal with are those concerning the traditional affiliation of Native peoples with Native languages; in other words, those people who speak or whose ancestors spoke a particular Native language. These figures are easiest to gather because they do not involve any estimate of individuals' personal proficiency in the Native language. It would be useful to know the number of Native people whose *ancestral* language is Cree, Oneida, etc., and how many in each category are status, non-status, Metis, and so on. This information is valuable for projecting the number of people who might be involved in Native language development activities and what sources of financial and administrative support (given their status) might be available for such activities. Unfortunately, not all available statistics are divided and compared along the categories.

Several years ago the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND 1970) did a study of "linguistic and cultural affiliations" of status Indians across the country. In this study DIAND categorized bands by their traditional linguistic affiliations without attempting to assess the linguistic abilities of individual members. There are some drawbacks to this study, particularly the lack of data on the numbers of speakers in communities in which several linguistic groups live together (Burnaby 1980: 18-19). Its virtue for the present study, however, is that it analyses information about ancestral language affiliation by province. Since the figures given are now out of date, percentages based on them are given here. Such percentages can be expected to remain relatively constant even though real numbers change.

On the basis of the 1970 DIAND study, then, 71 per cent of Ontario's status Indians were Algonquians and 29 per cent Iroquoians. Among the Algonquian group, 71 per cent were Ojibwe, 19 per cent Cree, 4 per cent Ottawa (Odawa), 2 per cent Potawatomi, 1.5 per cent Delaware, and 1 per cent Algonkin. Above, this author considered Odawa be a dialect of Ojibwe and excluded Algonkins because there are few of them in Ontario (although they are well represented in Quebec). Moreover, the 1970 DIAND study did not break down the Six Nations reserve population into separate linguistic groups. The following percentages, based on unpublished DIAND figures for the status Indian population in Ontario as of December 31, 1975, show the proportions of language affiliations among Iroquois people. In Ontario 56.6 per cent of Iroquoians were Mohawk, 17.5 per cent Oneidas, 16 per cent Cayugas, 5 per cent Tuscaroras, 3.5 per cent Onondagas, and 2 per cent Senecas. All these figures are for status Indians only.

Numbers of Speakers of Native Languages

It is even more a problem to establish who actually speaks the Native languages because, in addition to the problem of deciding on consistent language names and the appropriate affiliation of Native communities, one has to define proficiency in a language. Figures from an unpublished analysis of the 1981 Canadian census are used here to indicate numbers of speakers. As pointed out above, self-reported language data tends to be unreliable, but for present purposes the census figures provide more complete information than any other source.

In the 1981 census, of the total number of Ontario people who claimed to be ethnically Native, 78 per cent said that English was their mother tongue, 2 per cent said French, and 15 per cent said a Native language. Three per cent of this total group said that they spoke neither English nor French. The 1981 census allowed for people, particularly Native people, to be more specific about their mother tongue than did previous censuses. The Ontario Native language mother tongue figures are as follows:

Cree	7370
Ojibwe	7565
Other Algonquian	105
Athabaskan	145
Haidan	60
Iroquoian	545
Other Indian	6325
Inuktitut	95

Michael Foster of the National Museum of Man has used demographic and ethnographic procedures to estimate the number of Native language speakers in Canada (Foster 1982: 7-16). In the chart below the figures from his report are for the entire country not just Ontario. General implications for Ontario can be drawn if one keeps in mind that most Ojibwes and Mohawks and all Canadian Delawares, Potawatomis, and other Iroquoians live in Ontario. Only the Crees are outnumbered elsewhere in Canada.

Language	In Canada	Outside Canada	Total Speakers
Delaware	5-10	less than 100	less than 100
Potawatomi	100*	1000	1100
Ojibwe	30 000*	10 000-20 000	40 000-50 000
Cree	55 000	---	55 000-60 000
Tuscarora	7	40	47
Onondaga	50-100	100-150	
Oneida	200*	50*	250
Cayuga	360	10*	370
Seneca	25	400	425
Mohawk	2000*	1000*	3000

Note: * indicates that the number of speakers in this category is not known.

Foster points out that only minority languages with more than 5000 speakers are not considered in danger of extinction. Of Canada's Native languages that still have any speakers, only Cree, Ojibwe, and Inuktitut are in this favoured category.

Patterns of Language Switching

Are Native languages in danger of disappearing? It seems that, while there are ten surviving Native languages in Ontario, only two are not considered at risk of being lost. Languages with few speakers in the province seem also to have little outside support. On this continent the pressure to learn and speak English is so great that even a language such as French, which has a large number of speakers and an active national campaign to support, still has difficulty holding its own (Mougeon and Canale 1978/9). From a North American perspective, the special implications regarding the loss of Native languages in North America as opposed to the local loss of languages of immigrants from elsewhere in the world is that there is no other repository of living speakers for these languages. It was noted above that in 1981, 15 per cent of Ontario's Native ethnic groups reported a Native language as their mother tongue. Ten years earlier it was 42 per cent. In 1971, 33 per cent of those declared ethnically Indian said that an Indian language was most often spoken in their home. In 1981 it was 12 per cent.

The increase in English use can be seen in such a short time span by comparing the declared mother tongue with the declared language most often spoken at home among different age groups.

1971 Census, Ontario Native Population By Ethnicity

Group	Mother Tongue	Home English	Home Native	Total
Total	English	97.2%	2.5%	99.7%
	Native	29.1%	70.6%	99.7%
Age 6-14	English	98.0%	1.8%	99.8%
	Native	25.4%	74.6%	100.0%
Age 15 plus	English	92.2%	3.3%	95.5%
	Native	32.5%	67.1%	99.6%

Note: Because of systematic rounding procedures used in census figure calculations, the figures shown in the above table and in the one immediately below do not add up to 100 per cent.

Notice that in all cases Native mother tongue speakers were switching to English as their home language at a rate of 25 to 30 per cent, but that English mother tongue speakers show virtually no shift in the opposite or any other direction.

Let us compare the above figures with those from 1981.

1981 Census, Ontario Native Population By Ethnicity

Group	Mother Tongue	Home English	Home Native	Total
Total	English	97.6%	2% *	99.6%
	Native	30.4%	68.0%	98.4%
Age 6-14	English	98.3%	1.3% *	99.6%
	Native	23.4%	76.3%	99.7%
Age 15 plus	English	97.2%	2.5% *	99.7%
	Native	33.5%	64.4%	97.9%

Note: All figures marked with as asterisk include not only all Native languages but any language other than English or French.

In comparing the 1981 figures to the 1971, it can be seen that the rate at which Native mother tongue speakers tend to use English in the home is rising slowly. However, in terms of loss of Native language use and development, these figures are particularly important given the relatively small population of speakers.

The Geography of Language Switching

Analysis of the 1971 census figures shows that the shift to English from the Native languages does not happen evenly across the province (Burnaby 1980). Map 5 roughly shows the DIAND administrative districts in Ontario. In terms of language use, in the south of the province, Brantford, London, and Peterborough showed only 12.5 per cent to 17.7 per cent of the population with a Native language as their mother tongue. Among children up to the age of 14, only 6.4 per cent to 15.3 per cent spoke a Native language as their mother tongue. Also, the percentage of people who reported their mother tongue to be a Native language but their home language to be English was between 57.7 per cent and 93.5 per cent. There was no reciprocal trend to Native language home use by English mother tongue speakers.

In the Sudbury and Ft. Frances Districts, however, the trend to English was not as advanced. About half the population spoke a Native language as their mother tongue. Between 38.4 per cent and 50 per cent of the children learned a Native language as their mother tongue. Between 25.6 per cent and 39.7 per cent of those who spoke a Native language as a mother tongue used English as their home language. Compared with the southern districts, the Native language situation in these mid-northern districts seemed somewhat more stable, perhaps with active bilingualism in English and the Native language as a major factor. It is difficult from the information available to assess the role that the Native language plays in the lives of those Native mother tongue speakers who speak English in the home.

In the "North" district, 79.2 per cent of Native people reported that a Native language was their mother tongue. Almost as many children as adults were reported to have a Native language as mother tongue. Only 14.9 per cent of Native mother tongue speakers report English as their home language. In 1971, English had yet to gain a real foothold in the north. A similar analysis of the 1981 census figures by district has not been done. Since the province-wide figures for 1981 show greater losses for the Native languages than in 1971 it would be valuable to know the geographic pattern of these changes. Given the great increase of electronic media broadcasting into northern areas and the expansion of air and ground transportation networks in the past decade, it seems likely that a large part of the change is now taking place in the north.

It is important to look at the patterns in the switch to English from the Native languages because these patterns may indicate means for slowing down or stopping language loss. The most prominent pattern, as was seen from the figures presented above, is that only in isolated settlements are Native languages still used as the main means of communication. Since it is unlikely that the trend to increasing contact between isolated northern communities and the rest of the province will stop, change in the use of Native languages in northern communities can be expected in the next generation or so. However, it is important to note that communities that have been in close contact with non-Native society for several centuries, for example, the Six Nations reserve or Walpole Island, still have a number of Native speakers. Thus isolation cannot be the only factor that prevents or resists language shift (Burnaby 1981).

In general, it appears that the switch to English in Native communities does not occur on a family-by-family basis. Rather it seems that one entire generation of age peers changes over to English when that generation is in its teens or early adulthood. Of course such factors as schooling or migration are highly influential. Also, the change is likely to be fast in that there is not usually a long period (i.e., more than a generation or so) in which active bilingualism is widespread. Members of a family frequently have difficulty in communicating across the generations. When there are one or two Native-speaking members of an English-speaking age peer group in a community, it is often the case that the Native speakers have been brought up by grandparents or other older relatives.

Map Five

Distribution Generalized Indian Affairs Districts

In Ontario, the change to English normally happens cleanly in that people speak the Native language and then switch over to English. There is no transitional period during which a pidgin or creole develops, that is, a new language in which the vocabulary of one language is grafted onto the grammar of the other with related phonological and grammatical restructuring (John Nichols, personal communication). Such phenomena have occurred, however, with other Native languages elsewhere in Canada. In many Algonquian-speaking communities (as in many speech communities around the world), the youngest generation develops a dialect that is markedly different from the language of older people. Such a phenomenon should not be confused with a mixing of the Native languages and English.

Metis and Non-Status Indian Groups

This study does not analyse the 1981 census figures to determine the numbers of Metis and non-status people who identify themselves with the Native languages described above. It is presumed here that the ancestral Native languages of these people are the same as those of those of the registered Indian population although the proportion of the affiliation with individual languages is not known. Also unknown is the numbers of Metis and non-status individuals who speak their ancestral Native languages.

Summary

For projections of the number of Native speakers to be included in language development activities, the following population figures from an unpublished analysis of the 1981 census figures can serve as the base line:

1250 children aged 0 - 5	Native mother tongue
8705 children aged 0 - 5	English mother tongue
2285 children aged 6 - 14	Native mother tongue/Native home
700 children aged 6 - 14	Native mother tongue/English home (i.e. passive bilingual)
20 385 children aged 6 - 14	English mother tongue
12 395 adults	Native mother tongue (potential resource)
56 415 adults	English mother tongue (may want development)

Native language development can be divided into programs to suit Native speakers, Native passive bilinguals, and non-Native speaking Native people. This study does not consider the question of Native language programs for non-Native people. Statistically, all the Native languages show losses to English, although Cree and Ojibwe are still fairly strong. In one area in the far north children still come to school speaking a Native language as their first and only language even though the medium of their schooling is English. Most other Native children in Ontario come to school speaking English.

Geographically, the figures suggest that there are likely to be Native communities in which only a Native language is spoken or only English. In some areas experiencing language transition there may be a range of speakers from some or all of the possibilities mentioned above. In only a few instances are there communities in which people from more than one Native language are represented.

Literacy

There is no evidence that, prior to the arrival of Europeans in North America, any of North America's Native languages had a writing system that precisely represented spoken language. There were systems for representation of events or ideas, such as rock paintings. These are not considered here as linguistic symbols but rather as cultural symbols, since there is no evidence as yet that they could be read as representations of exact linguistic clues to real speech; they are mainly interpreted as purely artistic works. Writing systems are a relatively recent historical development for any language, and hundreds of the world's languages today have no writing system in common use. Europeans who came to North America after 1500, if they could read and write, were literate in roman orthographies, that is, the alphabet systems used to write English and French. Many European settlers developed ways of representing the Native languages by using the letters and spelling conventions of their European language. Sometimes they developed these systems for personal diaries, keeping trade records, or to help themselves learn the language.

Those Europeans who came to Christianize the Indians soon established missionary stations in Native communities. High on their list of priorities was the establishment of schools for teaching Native people to read and perhaps write. Although contemporary accounts are not clear on the matter, it appears that Native people usually were taught to read (for example, hymns, prayerbooks, and catechisms) in their own languages. English or French literacy may have been taught in some cases (Johnston 1964:232-268; Ellis 1964). Numerous Native religious books related to Christian religious observance and morality were turned out (Pilling 1891). No sooner had the Brantford community of Iroquois been established than they were supplied with Mohawk primers and prayer books (Johnston 1964:232-4). (See Figure 1 for an excerpt from a nineteenth-century Mohawk Bible translation.) Algonquian communities were similarly supplied with books as Christian missionaries spread among them.

About 1840 a missionary named James Evans developed a unique writing system for Ojibwe, which was probably inspired by one of the many shorthand systems extant in Britain at the time. (See Figure 2 for a sample from a nineteenth-century Cree Bible translation.) This writing system has one character for each syllable with some extra diacritic characters to show syllablic final consonants, vowel length, and consonant pre-aspiration. It uses geometric shapes to show the consonant and uses the orientation of the character to show the vowel sound of the syllable. This system can represent quite accurately the sounds of Cree and Ojibwe. It spread quite rapidly in northern Ontario, Quebec, and the prairies (Ellis 1964). It has since been adapted (relatively unsuccessfully) for Chipewyan and (successfully) to write Inuktitut. Map 6 shows the Ontario communities that still use syllabics today.

Generally speaking, few writing systems for Native languages in Canada are consistent in spelling, punctuation, styles, forms such as correspondence forms, or literary conventions. The standards for any system do not have the authority to produce any consistency in use (Burnaby 1979). For most Ontario Native languages there are at least two competing writing or spelling systems. A relatively small amount of literature is available in any Ontario Native language. The bulk of the older published material is Bible translations and other Christian religious material. More recent publications include public documents, school books of stories and legends, and newspapers. Some people use a Native language for personal letters. However, there seems to be a recent increase in Native language literacy and the publication of materials in Native languages. This trend may be related to growth of interest in Native ethnic identity. Most literate Native people are monoliterate in English or French or at least they learned to read and write English or French first. There are a few people who are literate in a Native language only (Burnaby and MacKenzie, forthcoming).

NE

ROYADADOKENGHDY ACTS.

CHAP. I.

Keristus waghiskeiskwadeke ne raotyoghkwadokenhdy ne ne aontkaghtho jideshodesh.

NE jinityawenhonh ji-nigonyerasch I-ih gonweyesneutaneh, *O Theophilus*, ne nakwekonh ne ken-ikenh *Jesus* shondahhadagtaawen dejaronh ne ji-nihhoyerenh ony shakorihhoonyennyh,

2 Ji-niyore ne- weghniserade ne ji-onenh donnahhonwayadaghkwe, oghnakenkeh raonhha rorihhonnyh ne Ronikonghriyughstonh shakorighwawyh neahhadichasteke ro-nonhhakeh ne raotyoghkwadokenghdy ne shakoyadarakwenh:

3 Ro-nonhhakeh ony nagahakododaghayase shisronnho nen shihoronhyagen-onh eso yuriwanet jiodokenhonhhonwh eghniyawenhonh, shonwakengha ne ronoonhha kayeryh niweghniseraghabenh, nokhony shodadyh ne ji-nikarihhodense ji-niyutyerenh ji-nonka ne ronoyencraserakonh ne Niyoh:

4 Nokhony, eghnaawen enekatneh sahhontkennise, waghahakawenhhaghse toghan erenh nonneghde ne *Jerusalem*, nok sewennoons ikenh rocharatstonh ne Ranihhah, ji-nahhoden, rawenh, I-se dakwanhonde.

5 Ikenh ne *John* orighwiyu ne shakoghnekoseraghtha oghnekanogha ratha; nok n'I-se T'Kakonde ne enseweinekoseraghde ne Ro-nikonghriyughstonh-neh yaghdeyadehniserakade ji-newre.

6 Neoni ethone nenh-enakatneh sahhontkennise, wahhonwarighwanendoughse raonhha, wahhonniron, Sayaner, enghakweny-kenh ne nonwa enseghsheyerüshe are ne kayasertre ne Israel-neh?

7 Neoni raonhha wahheron ne ro-nonhhaken, yaganhhy eghnhayawen n'I-se nasewaderyendarake ne jinonwrch nakenhhatye nedenhens nen-yuweyensase, anekenh ne Ranihhah raonhha raowenh ne kashatstenghsera enthewanoghdon.

8 Nok T'Kakonde enseweye-na ne kashatstenghsera, oghnakenkeh ne Ro-nikonghriyughstonh enseweyadoreune: neoni I-se T'Kakonde eneewaderighwanonna orighwiyu enkenhhake n'I-ihneh yekakwekonh ne *Jerusalem*, nokhony yekakwekonh ne *Judea*, nokhony neh *Samaria*, nokhony ne ji-nonka nakwah jinnteyodonhwenjoktanihon ne jiyenghwenjade.

9 Neoni ne o-nenh shahhadewennentho kenikenh jiniyadekariwakeh, ji-nahhe dehhonwakanere, neadonnahhonwayadaghkwe; neoni ethada rahhonwaye-na ok eghyonnahho-naghdense.

10 Neoni ji-nahhe yadehhadikanere ok thiyadeyughnirhaonh karonghyakeh nonkadyh ji-niyonsare, nadkathoh, deghnonkwedakeh ehhinede raodiyughkwakenh kenrakenh ro-natsheronnyadonh;

11 Kenkayen ony waghniron, jonkweh, *Galilee*-ska, eghniyutyerenh kenewakennyade aenahhonkwaweron karonghyakeh nonka? ne ne kenhenh shahhayadat ne Yesus, wahhy anyeshikwaghse karonghyakeh sareghde, T'Kakonde kady eghnenjaweune neadenire ji-naawenne jideghhise wakanere karonghyakonh sareghde.

12 Ethone neadonnahhonkarhakeny ne jiyunonde konwayats *Olivet*, sahhonneghde *Jerusalem*, ne neh jiniwahahinonteres jiniyore ne *Jerusalem* ne newehniserat ne rawendadogenhtengeh.

THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

CHAPTER 1

The Ascension: a Successor to Judas.

THE former treatise have I made, O Thē-ŏph'-ĭ-lŭs, of all that Jē'-sus began both to do and teach,

2 Until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the Hō'ly Ghōst had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen:

3 To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God:

4 And, being assembled together with *them*, commanded them that they should not depart from Jē-ru'să-lĕm, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, *saith he*, ye have heard of me.

5 For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Hō'ly Ghōst not many days hence.

6 When they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Is'ra-el?

7 And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.

8 But ye shall receive power, after that the Hō'ly Ghōst is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jē-ru'să-lem, and in all Jū-dē'a, and in Să-mā'rĭ-a, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.

9 And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.

10 And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel;

11 Which also said, Ye men of Gal'i-lee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jē'sus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

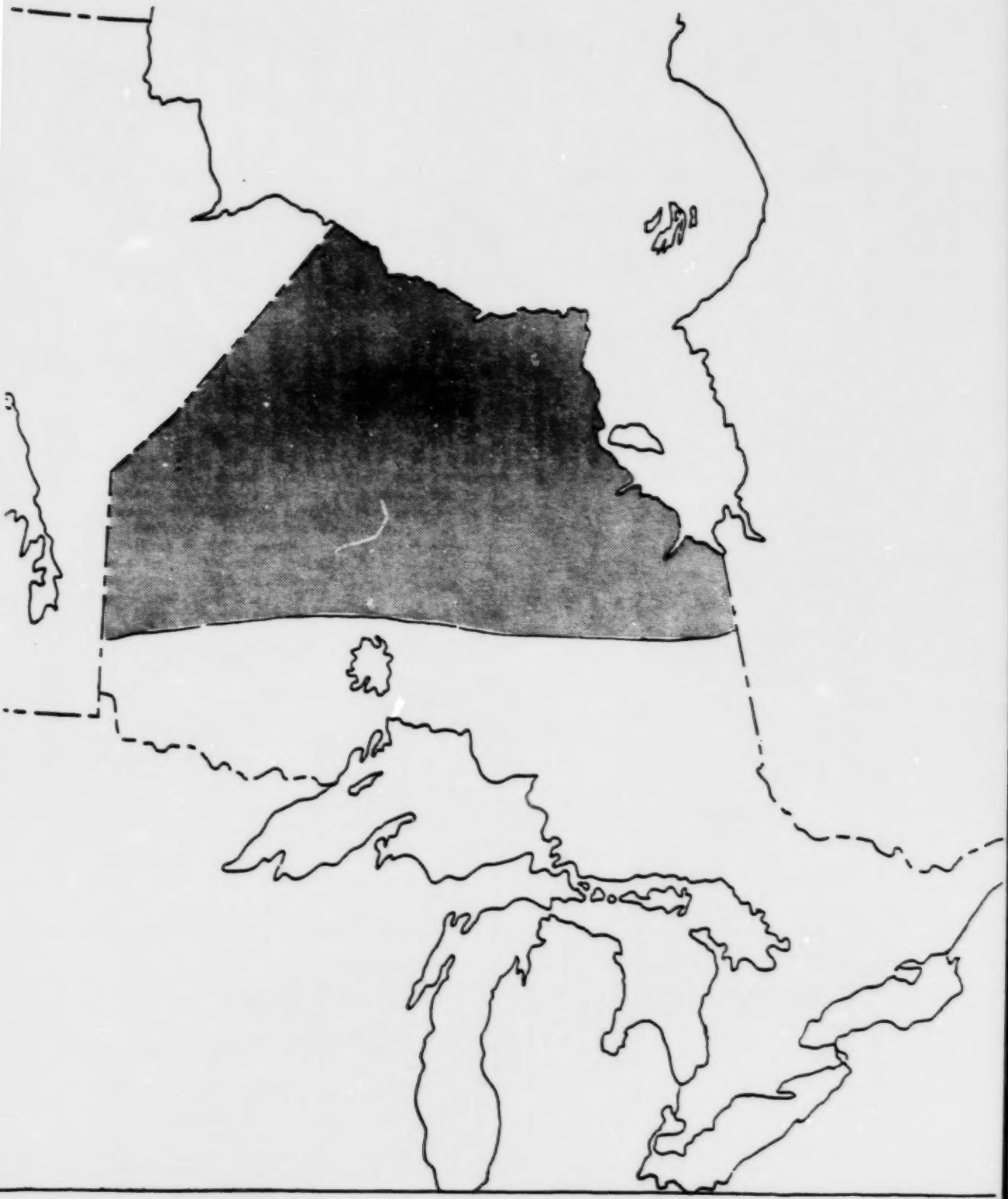
12 Then returned they unto Jē-ru'să-lĕm from the mount called Ol'i-vĕt, which is from Jē-ru'să-lem a sabbath day's journey.

Figure One

Excerpt from a Nineteenth Century Mohawk Bible Translation

Figure Two

Excerpt from a Nineteenth Century Cree Bible Translation



Map Six

Ontario Communities which Use Syllabics

Summary

Literacy in Native languages is not much used as the medium of communication in interpersonal communications in Native communities or between communities. The churches have the strongest involvement and the most published literature in Native languages. Some schoolbooks have been developed, but Native literacy as such has not been developed sufficiently for general use in the schools. Other Native literature available is inclined to be translations of government documents promulgated as if Native cultures used literacy in the same way that Candian majority cultures do.

In northern Ontario, *Wawatay News* is an impressive counterexample to these generalizations . This newspaper publishes information on government activities, items of local and personal interest, and material for children, and advertises in Cree and Ojibwe as well as in English. There is no effective standardization of writing systems, even in *Wawatay*, so that there is no real consistency among spellings or even the characters used among people who speak any one Native language. There is a need for linguistic and technological development of facilities such as typesetting machines, typewriters, lettraset, and so on which conform to an agreed upon set of conventions for Native language writing.

Administration of Native Affairs

As background to the next section, a brief description of administrative structures relating to Native language development is given here. In what is now Ontario, responsibility for Indian matters rested with the military authorities until 1830, when it was transferred to the civilian government. Education for Native people had been provided by missionaries, who were supported by their mission societies. Many of these educational endeavours were carried out in Native languages. Joint government and missionary efforts to maintain boarding schools for Native children were initiated in 1847. These schools used English as the medium of instruction.

In 1867 the British North America Act placed responsibility for Indian affairs with the federal government which evolved a policy of contracting with church groups to administer schooling exclusively for status Indian children. The church groups were not constrained to follow the education regulations set by the provinces. Most Native schools used English as the medium of instruction, and it was a widespread policy to actively discourage Native children from speaking their Native languages. Many Native children were subjected to a variety of physical and emotional punitive practices, which would not be permitted in today's educational systems, in attempts to prevent them from speaking their Native languages (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication).

In 1951 the Indian Act was substantially revised. The federal government undertook to make education for Native children as much like that of other children as possible. The purpose for this change was to integrate Native people into the mainstream of Canadian society. However, if integration is considered a two-way process, that is, if both sides are expected to make concessions to the other, this policy had no measures to change the majority culture so that it would integrate with Native cultures. Tuition agreements were made with provincial governments and school boards, often without the consent or consultation with Native people, so that status Indian children could be educated in provincial schools. These agreements typically stipulated that education for Native children was to be exactly like that for the other children. Although this stipulation had the virtue of minimizing the risk that education provided Native children might be inferior to that of other students, it also precluded the possibility that special consideration might be given to the unique needs of Native students. The federal government established or maintained its own schools in areas in which it was not possible to arrange for Native children to attend provincial schools. These schools were required to conform to provincial education acts and regulations in their curriculum and the qualifications of teachers hired to teach in them. For all of Ontario's federal schools, English was the medium of instruction.

In 1966 and 1967, a two-volume, federally initiated study on Indian affairs was

published. Known as the Hawthorn Report, after its principal author, it generally favoured the current movement towards integration of services for Native people with those of the rest of the population but accused the federal government of holding colonial attitudes and policies. Concerning education, its main recommendation was that the policy of integration be continued, that is, Native children should be educated in provincial schools rather than in schools administered by the federal government solely for Native students. Most of the provisos expressed in the report suggested that Indian needs in the areas of curriculum, language, kindergarten, textbooks, educational testing, health, housing, and the like must be given special consideration. It criticized the government for its policy of associating equality of education with similarity of treatment rather than taking the position that students who begin at different points may need different treatments to reach the same goals. Other recommendations were that Native languages might be taught as subjects of instruction and that Native-speaking children might be taught English using methods for teaching English as a second language (Hawthorn 1967:12,37).

The Hawthorn Report took the position that treating Native people the same as everyone else had its limitations. Nevertheless, in 1969 Jean Chretien, then Minister of Indian Affairs, tabled a policy statement in the House of Commons proposing that DIAND cease to administer any special programs for Native people and transfer monies to other government agencies to pay for the resulting additional administrative load which would fall on them. Native reaction to this policy was strongly negative. In 1972 the National Indian Brotherhood published *Indian Control of Indian Education*, a statement calling for direct responsibility for and control of Indian education by Native people. DIAND adopted the *Indian Control* statement as its policy in 1973. As a result, control over aspects of Native education have been slowly handed over to individual bands. In a number of cases bands have taken control of their schools, although many bands still feel that their control is still compromised by the role DIAND plays in administering their funding (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication). Today 49 per cent of Ontario status Indian children attend federal schools, 46 per cent attend provincial schools, and 5 per cent attend band controlled schools (DIAND figures for December 1983).

As federal services for status Indians have become more integrated with provincial services since the 1950s, the Ontario government has been developing approaches to meeting uniquely Native needs. It has always been responsible for such services as education for Native people who do not have status as registered Indians. In the past few decades the Ontario government has established positions on service to all Native people through such documents as the People of Native Ancestry (PONA). Native organizations have become actively involved in education through the development of policies, teacher in-service training, collections of information on Native education materials, educational materials development, and so on.

Since the late 1960s Native language and culture programs have begun to be instituted in schools for status Indian children. The administrative structure for providing such programs has been loose--a good quality given that different communities have different needs and wishes regarding the content. However, the lack of direction has meant that such programs often were offered intermittently, were of uneven quality, and were largely unsupported by supervision, or by the development of curriculum materials and standardization of teacher qualifications (Clarke and Mackenzie 1980). According to Mary Lou Fox, "Language programs within the educational system, as they exist presently, are very unsatisfactory. There is still no priority or prestige given to Native languages in schools" (personal communication). Today, Native language programs are offered in a considerable proportion of schools for Native children. In provincial schools with tuition agreements the federal government usually pays for the Native language program. Native languages could also be taught throught the Ontario government's Heritage Language Program, but few such classes exist.

At present all schooling for Native children in Ontario is taught through the medium of English. At West Bay on Manitoulin Island an experimental program was set up in the 1970s to teach Ojibwe as a second language to Native children by using that language as the

medium of instruction on the model of French immersion programs for anglophone children (Wasacase, n.d.). The program was discontinued after three years but there is continued interest in the ideas and it may be reinstated. Native languages are sometimes used as the medium of instruction in pre-school child care programs for English-speaking Native children. For example, there is now a pre-school program on the West Bay reserve, but the program is beset with funding problems since it does not fit within any set funding guidelines. However, other reserves interested in Native language maintenance are looking to this program as a model for Native language development education (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication). Kindergarten classes for Native-speaking children are generally taught entirely or partly through the medium of the Native language. The use of Native languages as medium of instruction from grade one up is restricted to Native language classes and Native culture and/or religious instruction in some schools for Native-speaking children.

The administration of education for Native children has been discussed at some length here because this area has been the focus of most attention regarding the development of Native languages. Other government agencies, not mentioned so far, have had some impact on Native language use as well, though to a lesser degree. The Department of the Secretary of State provides grants for Native communications societies and for some individual Native language related projects. Public broadcasting through the CBC has an influence through its English language service and has potential for provincial Native language development. The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture through its Native Community Branch has funded language development projects. In fact, any government agency has the potential to affect creatively the use of Native languages in its communications with Native people.

Summary

Education for Native children is administered by three bodies: the federal government, the provincial government, and bands, although most of the funding comes from the federal government. Mary Lou Fox of Manitoulin Island points out that the federal government has a narrow view of its education mandate and therefore that it is reluctant to consider the funding of alternative programs for Native language retention, for example in the pre-school (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication). There has been some cooperation between the federal and provincial governments on aspects of education affecting Native language development. Band control of schools is fairly new, so a mechanism by which band school administrators can regularly take part in province-wide government ventures that affect Native language development has not been created. Native organizations are involved in Native education and have unique resources and experience which must underlie projects for the development of Native languages through education and in other facets of life.

Native language as a subject is frequently but not universally taught to Native children in school. The use of Native languages as medium of instruction has been virtually untried in Ontario. Native groups have attempted such programs but have been unable to obtain funding (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication; Tschanz 1980:5-6). Although schools receive the most attention in terms of Native language development activities, other federal and provincial government agencies have been involved in Native language development projects.

Objectives for Native Languages

This section outlines objectives for Native language development. The statements referred to here date from 1972 to the present. In 1972 the National Indian Brotherhood published its seminal document, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, a document that broke new ground as a national Native statement on Indian education. It has since influenced government as well as Native objectives and policies for Native language development in education and other fields. Some of the statements discussed below were prepared by Native people; others were produced by Native and non-Native people together.

Education is the focus for most of the discussion on Native language development reported on here. Native and non-Native people advocating initiatives regarding Native language seem to look mainly to the schools to accomplish their aims and, incidentally, to blame the school systems primarily for inroads into Native language use. It has been pointed out to this author that Native elders believe that language maintenance must begin at home and be reinforced through a school program. Now that the schools have conducted Native language programs for about fifteen years, it is clear that the present school programs are not enough to produce fluent speakers. More powerful and innovative programs must be attempted, both in the school and outside (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication). While most general statements of objectives regarding Native language refer only or mainly to education, an attempt is made here in the section after the discussion of stated objectives, to show other areas, partly or entirely outside of the schools, in which Native language development is taking place.

National Indian Brotherhood

The objectives for Native education set out in 1972 by the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) in *Indian Control of Indian Education* are the most general published statement of the Native views on Native education in that they were drawn up by a nation-wide Native organization. These objectives are the most influential, having been accepted by the federal Department of Indian Affairs as their main policy on Native education. It is interesting to note that the NIB, which is Canada's first truly national Native organization, chose education as the only topic about which to make a major policy statement in the aftermath of the controversy over the White Paper on Indian Affairs tabled in the House of Commons in 1969. The objectives distilled from it here represent the NIB's policy at that time on those aspects of education in which language issues are potentially closely involved with main educational policy objectives. The National Indian Brotherhood has been since superceded by other national Native organizations, including the Assembly of First Nations, the Native Council of Canada, and the Metis national Council.

The document gives details on how its general objectives of reinforcing children's Native identity and providing the training necessary for making a good living in modern society should be carried out through parental responsibility for and local control of education. Regarding curriculum both for federal and provincial schools the NIB required:

> That Native people be fully involved in the development of curriculum plans and materials that will be relevant to the needs of Native students (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 9-10)

The section on language in Native schools began as follows:

> Language is the outward expression of an accumulation of learning and experience shared by a group of people over centuries of development. It is not simply a vocal symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man looks at the world, his thinking about the world, and his philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself.
>
> The Indian people are expressing growing concern that the native

languages are being lost; that the younger generations can no longer speak or understand their mother tongue. If the Indian identity is to be preserved, steps must be taken to reverse this trend.

While much can be done by parents in the home and by the community on the reserve to foster facility in understanding, there is a great need for formal language instruction in the language. (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 14-15)

The objective apparent in the above statement is that efforts must be made to reverse the trend towards Native language loss by restoring full fluency in the respective ancestral languages of Native peoples. More specific objectives on language of instruction are:

1. that Indian identity be preserved through Native language instruction;
2. that pre-school and primary school classes be taught in the language of the community for four or five years until the child has a strong grasp of his own language;
3. that transition to English or French as a second language should not occur until the child has a strong grasp of his own language;
4. that teacher-aides specialize in Indian languages;
5. that local language resource aides assist professional teachers;
6. that rigid teaching requirements be waived to enable Indian people who are fluent in Indian languages to become full-fledged teachers;
7. to preserve the Native languages;
8. to encourage the use of the Native languages in literary expression;
9. to adapt traditional oral languages to written forms and literary purposes;
10. to provide Indian children and others wishing it with formal instruction in the local Native language as part of the curriculum with full academic credit in places where it is not feasible to have full instruction in the Native language;
11. that government funds be given for studies in Native languages and for development of teaching tools and instructional materials despite the fact that governments are reluctant to invest in any but the two official languages. (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 15-16)

On the subject of teachers for Native children, *Indian Control* insisted:

> That provincial and federal authorities should consult with Native people to redesign Native teacher training programs to meet present needs; (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 18)

and

> That non-Native teachers be given a variety of specialized training in Native education topics including instruction in Native languages to the level of oral fluency and comparative language analysis, and in teaching English as a second language (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 19);

and on the subject of research the objective was:

> That research be done under the direction and control of Indian people, responsible to the Indian community and with funds channeled to research projects identified by Band Councils and Indian organizations in relation to their priorities and programs. (National Indian Brotherhood 1972: 24)

People of Native Ancestry Documents

Indian Control of Indian Education has had far-reaching effects on Native education across the country. The language and other objectives set forth in the document have influenced changes in and proposals for all levels of Native education. In 1975 the Ontario Ministry of Education published the first book in its *People of Native Ancestry* (PONA) series. This document was drawn up by ministry officials, Department of Indian Affairs personnel, and Native people involved in education in the province. It is a resource guide for the primary and junior divisions (kindergarten to grade six), and thus it has no force as a policy document, but it describes the ministry positions on various aspects of curriculum for Native children. It takes into account not only the education of Native students but also teaching about Native people to non-Native students.

One can clearly see in its statements the influence of *Indian Control*. Almost all the objectives described above from *Indian Control* are explicitly reinforced in PONA. Because PONA is concerned directly only with curriculum, some of the *Indian Control* objectives such as those on research are not mentioned. In addition to *Indian Control* objectives, PONA states two objectives on the subject of language. They deal with bilingualism and literacy. The first is really a specific version of more general statements in *Indian Control*, but the second adds a new light to the topic:

> Every Native student should be bilingual in an official language and in a Native language by the end of the junior division.
>
> As the bilingual Native child acquires literacy, his literacy should involve both the Native and non-Native languages (Ontario Ministry of Education 1975:28).

PONA also discourages the integration of Native children with non-Native children in the Primary and Junior divisions in regular classes unless the two groups of children have a language in common, and in Native as a second language classes under most circumstances.

Ontario Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples

Following an Ontario study of post-secondary education for Native people, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, and the Ministry of Culture and Recreation established a task force on the educational needs of Native Peoples in 1972. It had representatives from the three ministries and from each of the province's five major Native organizations. Meetings were held in various communities and briefs on educational needs were accepted from a wide variety of organizations and individuals. The resulting report, *Ontario Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples 1976*, shows the same kind of concerns and goals as does *Indian Control*. Recommendations were made on a wide range of educationally related topics, from curriculum and teacher training to funding and research.

Apart from the task force's many recommendations that reflect closely the objectives stated in *Indian Control*, several additional objectives on the subject of language were articulated:

> That (a) fully qualified Native teachers be hired in all elementary and secondary schools serving Native students; (b) these teachers have a working knowledge of the Native language of the area.
>
> That (a) fully qualified teachers of Native languages be classified as specialists and receive a salary commensurate with this position; (b) teachers of Native languages be granted provincial certification as language specialists. (Ontario Task Force 1976: 15)

Native Language Advisory Committee

The Ontario regional office of DIAND established the Native Language Advisory Committee (NLAC) in 1974 to provide advice on the direction and conduct of activities for the development of Native languages. The committee is composed of Native speakers from each DIAND district in Ontario and Native administrators concerned with Native language programs. According to an undated statement from NLAC's files, its membership and mandate are as follows:

> This committee is made up of members representing the Iroquoian and Algonquian languages of Ontario. The purpose of this committee is to advise the Department DIAND on Native Language Programming by:
>
> 1. Maintaining liaison with school programs and other agencies involved with Native Language Projects
> 2. Seeking professional consultants as necessary
> 3. Identifying future needs
> 4. Working together to find solutions to present problems.
>
> They are also involved in the following program areas;
>
> 1. Native Language Teacher Training
> 2. Professional Development
> 3. Language Research & Evaluation
> 4. Curriculum & Material Development.
>
> The philosophy of this committee is to preserve and maintain the Native Language and Culture through active participation and co-operative involvement.

Since its inception NLAC has met approximately three times a year to discuss developments in the program areas outlined above. The members consider issues related to the training of Native language instructors. Such training programs were once administered directly by DIAND but are now run by Lakehead University. NLAC has also concentrated on core curriculum outlines (developed with DIAND funding) for the teaching of Algonquian and Iroquoian languages as second languages. The committee discusses requests for help from individual teachers regarding conditions of employment or pedagogical needs as well as plans for professional development activities. Apart from considerations related directly to education programs, NLAC makes recommendations on the direction and use of Native language research; for example, it evaluates requests for funding from universities for research projects or administrative structures for promoting Native language research. It also promotes Native language awareness programs on reserves.

Indeed, to outline all the issues that the NLAC has considered at one time or another is to detail virtually all the contemporary concerns relating to Native language development in the province. NLAC frequently re-examines its priorities to ensure that resources are being allocated where they are most needed. (For an example of the range of concerns and the priorities placed on them by NLAC, see Appendix A.)

Although NLAC was established to advise DIAND and DIAND pays NLAC's expenses, the committee has become increasingly involved in issues and projects that are not related directly to DIAND. For example, the committee advised on the Northern Native Languages Project, which was a joint effort involving DIAND, the Ministry of Education, and three northern Native organizations. The Ministry of Education has consulted committee members regarding the development of its general policy on Native language and on the revision Intermediate and Senior division guidelines for second-language teaching so that Native languages could be included. The committee considers proposals made by universities and Native organizations for teacher training, professional development, and research.

Regarding recent activities and positions of NLAC, two points are made here. One is that NLAC has always been uncertain of its status and mandate with respect to DIAND, much less other institutions that might have an influence on Native language policy and

development. A feeling of frustration developed among NLAC members that their advice was not having any impact on DIAND programs. At a meeting on August 30, 1982, NLAC made it clear to DIAND representatives that they wanted a clear statement of the committee's mandate. DIAND replied in a letter to NLAC's chairman on September 14, 1982 that "to a great extent your precise role will be that which you choose although it will no doubt be a role that will evolve with changing circumstances."

Since that time the question of the role that representatives of Native organizations should play in NLAC or, alternatively, the role that a Native organization might play in running NLAC directly have been considered. No resolution has been developed as yet. NLAC continues to be seen by its members and by Native people outside of it as a group of knowledgeable and concerned individuals who would be able to contribute a great deal more if the committee were allowed to play a more effective role and not simply act as a rubber stamp (Mary Lou Fox, personal communication).

The second point to be made regarding NLAC also arose from the August 30, 1982 meeting. Committee members decided that their work would not be effective if they did not establish short- and long-term goals. The statement resulting from that decision (included in its entirety in Appendix B) represents a clear statement of current objectives and priorities for Native language development from Native people who have been actively involved in the field for some time.

Wawatay News Native Language Articles

In 1979 *Wawatay News* published a number of articles under the title of "Using Our Language". The first in the series, by Jim Morris (March 1979), expressed the author's fear that the Native languages were being lost. He describes the situation first in terms of his own experience:

> In the first place, losing a language is not as silly as it sounds. Consider this from my own experience. My own family background indicates that my grandfather could not speak a word of English, my father speaks broken English, I speak English all the time after training which spanned a period of some fifteen to seventeen years, and my little boy Spencer speaks English all the time, and has since he was three years old. But I am fortunate and Spencer is fortunate that we also speak Ojibwe fluently. What about the next generation? If you follow this process according to the pattern which I have just outlined, then each succeeding generation knows less and less of the language, until you reach a point where a particular child in a certain generation does not know the language at all. At that point the child will have lost the language.

He continues by citing evidence that his personal experience is far from unique in Native communities.

The reason he gives for making efforts to reverse this trend is that Native language is a critical part of Native culture and identity. He quotes Richard Morris, then the manager of the Northern Nishnawbe Education Council, as saying, "The maintenance and development of the language is so important in preserving a culture. So much of the Native culture is embedded in their language, for language is the expression of who and what the people are."

The author says that, in order to reverse the process of Cree and Ojibwe language loss, "the objectives of all people and groups who are involved in working with native language become twofold: 1) to preserve the Ojibway and Cree languages; 2) for every man, woman and child to have the ability to read and write in their own language". He outlines areas that must be developed, such as raising the prestige of the Native languages in the eyes of Native people, expanding Native language programs for schools, and training of translators and interpreters.

In subsequent issues of *Wawatay News* (May-August 1979) Pat Ningewance continued the "Using Our Language" series. The May article was introduced as follows: "With this issue, Wawatay News introduces USING OUR LANGUAGE, a new column dedicated to the preservation and development of native language in the Treaty 9 area of Northwestern Ontario". The first article by Ningewance surveyed efforts made elsewhere in North America to support Native languages. The second discussed the use of the Olivetti syllabic typewriter and expressed the need for standardization in spelling practices. The third discussed dialect differences in northern Ontario. The fourth article was concerned with the need for modern dictionaries to reflect new developments in Native vocabularies. A theme common to all the articles was the challenges faced by Native interpreters and translators.

The Northern Native Languages Project

The Northern Native Languages Project was carried out by a committee whose members represented DIAND, the Ministry of Education, the Northern Nishnawbe Education Council, the Ojibwe-Cree Cultural Centre, and the Wawatay Communications Society. Three consultants were hired to conduct the research and do the writing. The project focussed on the federal and provincial elementary schools attended by Native children in the DIAND districts of James Bay, Nakina, and Sioux Lookout. In these districts most Native children come to school speaking only or mainly Cree or Ojibwe. Nineteen communities were visited by members of the project team. Band council and education committee members and school personnel were consulted in each.

The project's final report outlined ways in which schools could accommodate the language needs of Native speaking children. Suggestions ranged from the use of a regular, English-medium program like those for English-speaking children to a program in which the Native language is used as the medium of instruction for a large proportion of the elementary grades. The needs of English-speaking Native children in learning a Native language as a second language were also considered. The committee recommended that Native communities be made aware of the options regarding the balance between English and Native language in school programs, and be involved in a lengthy and thorough consultation process involving the formulation and achievement of local objectives for education. The report further recommended that cooperation among federal and provincial educational authorities in the area would enhance the development of appropriate personnel training, materials and curriculum development, consultation, supervision, funding, and policies. It was suggested that a Native languages educational resources centre be set up to coordinate the training of personnel for Native schools and to fulfil other broadly defined functions related to Native language development.

In addition to making extensive recommendations on the teaching of English as a second language, the report describes detailed measures needed to support the teaching of Native languages both as a subject and as a medium of instruction. These recommendations range from specifically school-oriented topics, such as personnel training, supervision, and status, to more general ones, such as the initiation of linguistic research and the development of tools for promoting literacy, for example, typewriter print heads and letraset in syllabics. It proposed that Native-speaking techno-linguists (that is, Native speakers who carry out linguistic research under the direction of a linguist) should be trained to undertake much of the needed linguistic fieldwork and language development activities.

In relation to the needs of the entire province, the report is slanted towards those of Native speakers rather than official-language-speaking Native children although Native as a second language teaching issues are raised. It does not address needs that are unique to Iroquoian language development. It considered only those language development factors affecting education although some recommendations, such as those for the training of techno-linguists, for the develpment of literacy support materials, and for the establishment of a Native languages educational resources centre, would affect aspects of Native language development in non-educational fields as well.

Metis and Non-Status Indian Constitutional Review Commission

In 1980 the Native Council of Canada, representing Metis and non-status Indian people on the national level, conducted public hearings to gather information from its constituency on ways in which the new Canadian constitution should reflect their needs and concerns. The Ontario hearing was conducted in Sault Ste. Marie. During the meeting the participants were divided into eight groups to formulate recommendations. It is not clear to this author on what basis people were grouped. The resulting recommendations from each group contained some mention of Native languages:

Group 1
It is important that we as Native people have the right to free access to radio and T.V. in order to promote our language and culture....

Group 2
To reduce the influence of this non-Native world perspective, we therefore recommend that the constitutional guarantee for language and educational rights of Native people be equal to existing French and English services....

Group 3
That control of education, freedom of religion, recognition of laws and customs and languages be guaranteed....

Group 4
Native language and education should be guaranteed and Native history/culture introduced into the school system as a part of the history of Canada....

Group 5
It is not right that only English and French be enshrined in the Constitution of Canada as official languages. All Native languages should have an equal status. The rights should be there even if the languages are not used in some areas. These are languages which have grown from this soil through 10 000 years and there should be prestige in our speaking them and revitalizing them....

Group 6
We also believe that Native people should have the opportunity to learn in their Native language. This would ensure that our culture is not totally lost....

Group 7
The group endorsed the separate entrenchment of aboriginal rights in the Constitution and wishes these basic rights expanded to include rights to educational and social services and protection of Native language rights....

Group 8
Native languages must be guaranteed in the Constitution in the same light as French and English. And our school system must be changed to allow for classes in Native history, culture and language. (*Dimensions: Special Editions* 9(1):31-35)

Submissions to the Ontario Government's Select Committee on Constitutional Patriation and Reform

In August and September 1980, the Ontario Government's Select Committee on Constitutional Repatriation and Reform received submissions from both provincial status and non-status Indian associations. The issue of Native language rights was raised prominently in only one of the submissions, that of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, which was delivered by Mr. Harry LaForme. It states, "It is imperative that, just as French language rights are preserved today, Indian language rights should also be preserved along with other Indian rights." (*Dimensions: Special Editions* 9(1):38)

Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association's Commission of Inquiry into Aboriginal Rights and the Constitution of Canada

In July 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA) held a public hearing of its Commission of Inquiry into Aboriginal Rights and the Constitution of Canada on the Garden River reserve. Participants were formed into eight groups that prepared recommendations. Three of the groups included recommendations concerning Native languages in their reports:

> **Group 3**
> Ethnic guarantees in one sense could mean guarantees that we can speak our own languages. A guarantee that we can have our own say in our education and how our children are educated....
>
> **Group 5**
> We assert the right to preserve our cultural heritage i.e. language, history, customs, spiritual beliefs, education and to generally continue our unique lifestyles....
>
> **Group 8**
> A recommendation under Language Instruction of the Constitutional Act, 1981, Section 23, paragraph 1, that Aboriginal languages be included. (*Dimensions: Special Editions* 9(4):18-29)

Also at that hearing, a questionnaire dealing with a wide range of issues relating to the constitution was given to all participants. On the subject of language "83 per cent felt that a separate Native Bill of Rights is necessary to ensure...language rights." (*Dimensions: Special Editions* 9(4):51)

TESL Canada

In March 1982 TESL Canada, the national organization for English as a second language, held a symposium on language development for Native peoples. It was attended by Native and non-Native people from across the country who were in some way involved in language development in Native education. A basic premise established at the opening of the symposium was that any issues involving language in Native education must take into account both the relevant Native and official language. The final report from the symposium expressed this premise as follows:

> "Bilingual education" was the term used at the symposium to convey the need to include both English and the Native languages as mediums and subjects of instruction in school programs. It has different definitions because there are different balances between English and Native languages in Native community life in different parts of the country. There are many educational models for arranging the English and Native components. For example, bilingual education could mean English-medium education, perhaps with an ESD standard English as a second dialect component, and Native language as a subject of

instruction, or it could mean a Native-medium program with English introduced as a second language (Burnaby and Elson 1982:10).

Recommendations from the symposium included:

a) increased communications among Native education workers through a national newsletter, a clearinghouse for teaching materials specifically geared for Native education, national and local conferences, and the TESL Canada network;
b) lobbying for policy development and coordination of effort among the federal and provincial governments, universities, teacher education institutions, teachers' associations, Native organizations and communities;
c) aspects of teacher training, certification, and status;
d) the teaching of standard English as a second dialect;
e) materials development;
f) funding sources.

Reports were given on work in progress by the twenty-four participants. These are summarized in the Final Report.

Because of the national scope of the symposium and because Native and official languages were treated together as parts of the educational whole, none of the recommendations was addressed exclusively to Native language development. Participants advocated linguistic analysis of Native languages, not only the phonology and grammar but also the social rules for Native language use. The results of such analyses should be applied to Native and English language curriculum development and should be integrated into the training of non-Native teachers to promote better understanding of Native patterns of speech behaviour.

With regard to materials development, the final report states:

> It is important that local communities be involved in materials production. Some excellent materials development is being done on a small scale by bands and school boards, but much more is needed. All materials development work in Native education would be facilitated if developers, and potential developers, were given some guidance. Some of the problem areas are:
>
> a) making good materials to develop oral skills in a first or second language
> b) making sure that materials get distributed and implemented
> c) getting local, provincial or national authorities to make explicit what they expect from materials
> d) making teacher guide materials that can be used by inexperienced and undertrained teachers.
>
> Federal government agencies, ministries of education, Native organizations, and universities should co-operate to produce guidance manuals on creating classroom materials for language development in Native education. These manuals should focus on topics such as:
>
> a) curriculum blue-prints on which materials development can be based, including clear but thorough statements of the pedagogical and social principles classroom materials should adhere to
> b) ways in which materials can be tested and evaluated
> c) ways to make materials culturally and linguistically relevant, student-oriented, and practical for both oral and written language learning
> d) ways in which classroom materials can incorporate multimedia presentations, professional design features, and characteristics acceptable to commercial publishers

e) ways in which local community members and educators can and should be involved in materials production
f) ways in which materials can be used with appropriate "audiences", including in-service teacher training and presentations to community members, so that materials continue to be reprinted and used outside the classroom as well as inside it
g) characteristics of good teacher guides (Burnaby and Elson 1982:25-27).

Since the final report was released in October 1982, TESL Canada has established a special interest group on language development for Native peoples. This group has raised funds to initiate a national newsletter. A second symposium on language development in Native education was held at TESL Canada's conference in Winnipeg in February 1984.

Ontario Indian Education Council Workshop

The Ontario Indian Education Council (OEIC) is the educational agency of the Chiefs of Ontario. OEIC was originally established following the Ontario Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples 1976, and included representation from the provincial and federal governments, the four main status Indian organizations of Ontario, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA), and the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA). In 1978 the Council asked the government representatives to leave, and in 1979 it also removed OMNSIA and ONWA representation. Thus its present constituency is only Native people with Indian status.

On October 18-22, 1982, the OIEC held a workshop in Thunder Bay on Indian control of Indian education. In its summary report, OEIC made the following recommendations regarding Native language development:

1. writing systems used in schools should be standardized;
2. the use of syllabics as a writing system should be developed and supported;
3. long term funding should be made available to support Native language programs;
4. mechanisms should be set up so that Native language instructors can help each other more readily;
5. much more support is needed for Native language teachers in the way that other teachers are supported by specialists and materials in their fields;
6. accreditation should be made available for Native language teachers.

The report stated that one of the goals established by the delegates at the session was the development of a language policy for Native education; a related goal was to ensure Native participation in the curriculum development process. A recommendation from the workshop was "to develop an Indian Language Policy which can be made part of a package of any curriculum development".

Native Council of Canada

This section contains two excerpts from documents prepared by the Native Council of Canada (NCC) for the federal-provincial meetings on aboriginal constitutional matters in 1982 and 1983. They present the views of the NCC on matters pertaining to Native languages and their role in the maintenance of Native culture. The first is entitled "Recommendations on provisions to be added to or for amendment to the Canada Act 1981 (Draft). Federal-Provincial Meeting of Officials on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters. Ottawa. November 17, 1982. (Document: 840-245/001)".

35.4 Without limiting their nature and scope, the rights and freedoms of the aboriginal peoples of Canada include:....
(c) *Language and Cultural Rights*

i) the Aboriginal peoples of Canada each have the right to use and develop their own languages and cultures in their respective regions.

ii) the rights referred to in this section include the right of Aboriginal peoples to develop their own language and cultural institutions, where numbers warrant, determined on the basis of the proportionately smaller Aboriginal population.

iii) the Aboriginal peoples of Canada each have the right to use their own language in addition to Canada's official languages;

   a. in any proceedings of the Parliament of Canada or legislature of any province, and
   b. in, or in a pleading or process issuing from, any court established by Parliament or the provincial legislatures.

iv) the Aboriginal peoples of Canada each have the right to communicate with, and to receive services from any office of an institution of the Government of Canada or of the provinces in their own language where;

   a. there is a significant demand for communications with and services from that office in such language, and
   b. due to the nature of the office, it is reasonable that communications with and services from that office be available in such language.

v) Aboriginal peoples each have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in their own language and to determine the rate of introduction of English and French as teaching languages through participation in appropriate committees in their educational institutions.

vi) the rights referred to in section v) above;

   a. apply in any region of Canada where the number of children of Aboriginal people is sufficient to warrant the provision to them, out of public funds, of Aboriginal language instruction, and
   b. includes, where the number of children so warrants, the right to have them receive their instruction in aboriginal language educational facilities provided out of public funds;
   c. A and B above must take into account the relatively smaller populations of Aboriginal peoples, as compared with other populations of Canada.

The following quote is taken from the NCC document entitled "Native Council of Canada--Working Group Agenda Items, Federal-Provincial Meeting of Ministers on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters. Ottawa, January 31, February 1, 1983. *Working Group Agenda Items. Language and Culture Including a Discussion of Family Law. NCC Declaration of Principle* (Document: 830-120/014)":

> have the right to preserve our identity and to flourish as a distinct people with a cultural heritage. We have the right to educate our children in our Native languages, customs, beliefs, music and other art forms.

Metis National Council

The following excerpts are from two submissions on Metis rights and principles, presented to the first ministers in 1983. The first is entitled "Charter of Rights of the Metis, Metis Constitutional Committee. Federal-Provincial Meeting of Ministers on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters. Ottawa, January 31, February 1, 1983. (Document: 830-120/007)":

35.3 Without limiting their nature and scope, the rights of the Metis of Canada, in addition to those under Section 35.1 of this Act, are:...
c) *Language and Cultural Rights*:
i) to develop their own languages and cultural institutions;
ii) to have their children receive school instruction in their own language;
iii) to the use of their own language in social and political institutions where appropriate;

The following excerpt is from the opening address by the Metis National Council to the First Ministers' Conference on the Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples in Ottawa, March 15 and 16, 1983.

Statement of Principles

35 (4) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, the Governments of Canada and the Metis are committed to the following principles:
iii) the practice of Aboriginal usages, traditions and languages.

Ontario Metis Association

The Ontario Metis Association (or the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association as it frequently is constituted) presented a brief to the Ontario Royal Commission on the Northern Environment on March 31, 1983, entitled "The Ontario Metis Association: Northern Resource Development, a Metis Perspective." The following are excerpts from it on language use:

> ORAL TRADITIONS AND THEIR RELEVANCE: All decisions are reached following the development of a sufficient information base. In Euro-Canadian terms this generally means 'the written word'. An examination of the material utilized by the Ministry of Natural Resources to develop its land use plans would attest to this reality. For all practical purposes these plans are developed entirely on a lengthy series of 'scientific reports'....The information base required to make such plans must be extended to include 'oral tradition'. It is our belief that the oral records of our people are as binding as are the archives and records kept by Euro-Canadians. (Section 3, p. 1)
>
> This section contrasts oral and literate cultures in terms of the validity and accuracy of information transmission by either method. Using biblical and classical references the (present) report suggests the oral forms are the more accurate and are distorted by translation into literate forms. Relating this to the oral information of Metis people, the report recommends the acceptance of oral information relating to aboriginal claims....The final section of the report outlines more specifically the impact of orally transmitted information and the facility of video-tape as a tool for oral documentation. The report concludes with recommendations for applying this process to the decision making practices utilized in Ontario, specifically by the Ministry of Natural Resources. (Section 3, p. 2)

> This is a matter of great urgency, because not only will the younger generation of Indian and Metis be denied access to their own culture, religion and art, their land and traditions, but the whole country will be the poorer. They can add a vital and dynamic dimension to the sense of Canadian identity, when Canadians begin to realize that the history of this Continent did not commence with Cartier, Cabot and Columbus, but goes back farther than the history of the British Isles and France. (Section 3, p. 31)

The Treaty Organizations

The organizations representing status Indian people in the Treaty #3 and Treaty #9 areas have not yet formulated explicit policies on Native language development. Treaty #9 held a series of workshops beginning in February 1984 to formulate such a policy for its area. People from the Treaty #9 area are concerned that the impact of recent developments in education, particularly the Heritage Languages Program and the new guidelines for high school programs (contained in the Ministry of Education document *Ontario Schools: Intermediate and Senior Divisions)* on the provision of Native language programs in schools be studied and acted upon.

From the Treaty #3 area, Maria Seymour frequently is called upon to represent the views of Native people in that region on the subject of Native languages. She feels strongly that Native parents and others need to be better informed through some kind of education program about the problems and challenges involved in providing a successful Native language program in the schools. While she is certain that Native people in her area want Native language training for the children, she thinks that such programs would benefit greatly if adults learned more about what the programs entail (e.g. scheduling, teacher training, accreditation of teachers, curriculum development) and how they could become involved in supporting these activities. Native parents need to get more information in order to help them decide what role the Native language should play in their children's education since there are now competing pressures on children to choose which of the many subjects offered in school to study. For example, Native children might be in a position to choose between Native language or French classes.

Mrs. Seymour is concerned that there is very little support within the school systems for Native language teachers in terms of their status as teachers, supervision, curriculum and materials development, professional development facilities, and so on. Often Native language programs are started before the necessary groundwork is laid. Teacher training and professional development should be held locally so that Native language teachers can easily take part in them to share their efforts and concerns. Native language teachers need consistent support from the local communities so that arguments can be made to the educational authorities for the establishment and continuation of Native language programs. Policy development on Native language by the treaty organizations could help formulate and mobilize efforts by bands and parents to support Native language teaching and development.

Summary

From the statements reviewed above it appears that Native people want their ancestral languages to be preserved and maintained. Some statements suggest that the vitality of Native languages considered an important component in the preservation of Native culture. Most recommendations for the development of Native languages proposed by Native groups focus on the teaching of Native languages in schools and include considerations of curriculum and materials development, teacher training and support, and linguistic and pedagogical research. There is some call for education through the medium of the Native languages as well as for Native language as a subject of instruction. Literacy in the respective Native language is mentioned as an objective as well as appropriate use of oral traditions. General linguistic research on Native languages and a program of Native language awareness in Native communities is advocated.

Native Language Development Activities

The objectives cited above give a perspective on the priorities of Native people and others concerning the present and future development of Native languages in Ontario. Education is a prime concern. It is evident, however, more through action than through formal statements, that Native language development is proceeding in a number of areas involving Native language use. The following are brief descriptions of these activities.

The Churches

The original creation of writing systems for Ontario Native languages was brought about almost entirely by Christian missionaries. In the early days of European settlement, the first formal schooling in European style was established in many Native communities by non-Native Christian missionaries, who taught Native people to read and write in their own languages in order that they could take part in Christian observances by reading whatever prayer books, hymnals, and Bible passages that had been written in those languages. Since that time many Christian groups have continued to support Native literacy and Native language participation in Christian services. In the latter they have used interpreters and have trained Native catechists, lay ministers, and ordained ministers. (See Hendry 1969, for example, for the Anglican Church's policy on involving Native people in the work of the church.) Non-Native church workers also have a remarkable record, in comparison to other non-Native people of learning to speak the Native languages.

Some church groups that contracted with the federal government to provide education to Native-speaking people continued to use the Native language in schooling and to teach Native literacy until recently (Toohey 1982). There are, however, examples of Native language repression in Christian schools as well. Despite changes in Native language publication patterns and use of Native languages in schools in recent years, the bulk of published material in the Native languages in Ontario has been put out by Christian church organizations. Institutional use of the Native language, in communities in which the Native language is being supplanted by English, is normally in connection with church activities.

The Longhouse Religion

As mentioned above, the ceremonies of the longhouse religion, involving a number of facets of life in Iroquoian communities such as funerals, individual ceremonies as well as the main religious celebrations, are still carried out entirely in the Iroquoian languages even though many adherents are not fluent speakers. This fact is influential in the preservation of Iroquoian languages and in maintaining the regard in which these languages are held among Native people who do not speak the Iroquoian languages.

On the Six Nations reserve, funding has recently been secured by the traditionally oriented sector of the community to teach the use of the high language used in longhouse ceremonies. Tape recordings of speeches by fluent speakers are used. Classes are available to speakers and non-speakers of the languages. Some participants have expressed the need to devote all their time to learning to participate actively in these ceremonies lest they be lost when the current speakers die.

Commerce

For people in Native speaking communities, shopping has long been accommodated by the fact that non-Native store managers have learned the local Native language, hired bilingual clerks, or both. Many local stores in Native-speaking communities are now run by Native people. Communication with commercial establishments outside of the local area must generally be in English. The local use of Native-speaking personnel in stores provides a not inconsiderable amount of employment in small communities.

Telephone Communications

Now that satellites have facilitated the introduction of regular telephone service to many Native-speaking communities, there is a need for Native monolinguals to deal with English monolingual telephone operators. The Wa-Wa-Ta Communications Society has arranged to provide interpreters for Native-speaking callers who wish to make long distance calls and has ensured that telephone directories are available in syllabics.

Broadcasting

Recent technological changes have brought radio and television broadcasting to many isolated Native communities in the past decade. The role of the Native languages in broadcasts to Native-speaking communities varies. Community-operated FM stations in isolated northern areas usually broadcast almost entirely in the Native language. Broadcasts from CBC stations to the Native-speaking areas have had a few Native language programs, for example, "Bannock and Tea" from Thunder Bay. Radio programming that reaches Native communities where the Native language is not much spoken anymore is entirely in an official language. However, one Iroquoian community has received television and radio time to publicize the production of a Native language teaching grammar. Regular television programs in Ontario's Native languages is not available. (Appendix C contains two submissions to the Ontario Royal Commission on the Northern Environment regarding the present state of broadcasting to Native-speaking communities and Native objectives for the future.

Newspapers

Wawatay News, published by the Wa-Wa-Ta Communications Society, reports on events in the Treaty #9 and #3 areas in English, and Cree, and Ojibwe. Not only does this newspaper have to contend with great distances and environmental and cultural differences across its area of responsibility, but it is also confronted with the problem of language and dialect differences, a lack of standardization of Native writing conventions, and a lack of adequate syllabic typesetting and productions facilities such as letraset for headlines. The success of this newspaper testifies to both a need for such a publication and the staff's skill in overcoming the obstacles. In addition to *Wawatay News*, a number of local newspapers published on or near Native communities carry occasional or regular columns in the local Native language.

Native Language Instructors' Program

Native Language Teacher Training (NLTT) began as an experimental program in Fort Frances, Ontario, in 1973. Within the next two years it expanded and developed into what became DIAND's Ontario Regional Native as a second language training program for Iroquoian and Algonquian second language teachers. In 1977 the first seven graduates received their NLTT certificates from the Minister of DIAND. In 1978, a second experimental program was undertaken Thunder Bay to pilot the training program for teachers of Native language arts in Native-speaking communities (Mitchell 1983).

In 1981, both programs (second language and language arts) moved to Lakehead University to become diploma programs of the Faculty of Education, with the name changing to the present NLIP. The 'Institute', a program for graduates of NLIP and NLTT, has also become a part of university life at Lakehead University. Institute courses are now being offered by Lakehead's Faculty of Arts.

NLIP, while now an established and well-regarded school, continues to grow in quality as each year the best suggestions of the student body and the faculty continue to shape the curriculum. Over the years NLIP has come to enjoy a reputation for quality in its training. Although designated and operated for Ontario's Native people, students from other parts of Canada and the United States have come for training.

Adult Language Classes

Classes in Native language are offered not only to schoolchildren but to interested adults as well. Confederation College and Lakehead University, among other institutions, have offered courses for Native and non-Native-speaking adults to learn to speak and/or read and write Native languages.

Court, Hospital, and Government Interpretation and Translation

Most courts, hospitals, and agencies such as the Children's Aid Society, in areas in which there is a significant Native-speaking clientele, empioy Native language interpreters. There is considerable need for such services, particularly in hospitals (Mary Lou Fox, personnal communication). No regular training is available for these interpreters and virtually no resources such as dictionaries. Similarly, any translations are done by Native bilinguals who have little access to training or support materials. A few workshops have been held for court translators, reserve constables, and Native court workers in Kenora. On the basis of the results of these workshops, Maria Seymour has developed a list of standardized translations which are available in written form and on tape from the Kenora District Attorney's Office.

A conference for Native language translators and interpreters was hosted by the Native Community Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation in 1979. Following this conference, the Ministry contracted with the Wa-Wa-Ta Communications Society and the Ojibwe-Cree Cultural Centre for the development and standardization of terminology to support the work of Native translators and interpreters. Court and hospital interpretation and the translation of government documents for distribution in Native-speaking communities has created a need for the development or standardization of terminology in the Native languages. In these projects, workers collected English terms to be translated, consulted elders regarding potential Native terminology, and sought consensus among mature speakers on the standardized terms to be used.

Typewriters

In the early 1970s the Olivetti company met with Native syllabic specialists across the country to consult on the development of a syllabic typewriter. Despite initial design problems, a workable model was produced. DIAND developed a manual that typists can use to learn to touch type on these typewriters as well as a manual that a syllabic typing instructor can use to teach touch typing on the machines. These manuals also include comments on format and punctuation for syllabics (Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs 1975, 1976).

Native Language Awareness

From 1976 to 1978 the federal government provided funding for Walpole Island, a traditionally Algonquian-speaking community that has been mainly English speaking for at least a generation, to develop activities in the community to support Native language use. The funding was provided under a Local Initiatives Grant, a summer student employment program, and a Canada Works grant. The project developed Native language books and materials for use by community members in learning their Native language and for teaching young members of the community. It promoted the use of the Native language in community activities such as bake sales, valentine box socials, open house events, arts and crafts festivals, and pow-wows. Some material was developed with school use in mind, but the project focussed on activities in other facilities such as the day care centre and the drop-in centre for senior citizens (Lena White, personal communication).

Native Cultural Centres

In this report, the author has not documented Native language development activities of the various Native cultural centres in the province, although these activities are diverse, numerous, and embedded in other activities of the centres. A number of them have been reported on above under other headings. It is important to note, however, that the cultural centres are the initiators and producers of many Native language development projects, from teaching Native languages classes for adults through supporting Native language awareness activities to developing books and support materials for school Native language classes.

Research

Indian Control and the Native Language Advisory Committee have advocated that research be conducted on the use and teaching of Native languages. The Northern Native Languages Project could be considered research into the pedagogy of Native languages in northern areas of Ontario. Several years ago DIAND sponsored a people use Ojibwe in daily life. DIAND support has been extended for linguistic research into Oneida at the University of Western Ontario. Research into Native languages in Ontario is hampered by the fact that there are virtually no academics on the faculties of Ontario universities who specialize in the study of practical problems of Native language use and development.

Community Native Language Use

Native languages are used as the medium for some or all social communication in most Native communities. Even in those areas in which the Native language is not much used anymore, meetings are often opened with a prayer in the Native language. Singing in the Native language is popular, and choirs have been established in several communities. For example, a children's choir from Manitoulin Island was invited to sing at the Canadian National Exhibition in 1981. Also, a Kenora choir is regularly invited to sing in the Native language at funerals. In these and many other undocumented ways, the Native languages continue to take their part in communication in Native communities.

Summary

The Native languages of Ontario are being used and developed in language functions outside of the school. In established contexts, such as the churches and Native religious practices, newspapers, commerce, and the everyday social uses of language, Native languages continue to be used. In addition, new contexts are being exploited, such as the electronic broadcast media, translation of government documents, and telephones.

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APPENDIX A

NATIVE LANGUAGE ADVISORY COMMITTEE DOCUMENT

MARCH 18, 1981

3. The Committee outlined the needs as follows;

(1) Native Language Teacher Training - substitute and extra teachers

(2) Course outlines for all grades

(3) Printed materials for students' use (or teachers)

(4) Consultant for native language program

(5) Better-informed principals

(6) University research programs (dictionaries, grammers, etc)

(7) Ministry of Education involvement (certificates, evaluation, etc.)

(8) Songs and other resources in native language

(9) Professional Development (workshops)

(10) Video materials

(11) Community support (community involvement)

(12) Band Council or School Committee support.

(13) Evaluation of teachers

(14) Staff understanding

(15) Evaluation of programs

These were added on later; Newsletter
High School credits

4. The Committee split into three (3) groups;

Group - Algonkian 1st language
Group - Algonkian 2nd language
Group - Iroquois

Task assignment was to list and priorize the needs outlined above.

Here is the listing of each group:

ALGONKIAN - FIRST LANGUAGE

1. Consultant
2. Course Outlines
3. Community, Band Council and School Committee support
4. Better-informed Principals
5. Professional Development
6. Teacher Training
7. Evaluation of Teachers
8. Evaluation of Programs
9. Staff understanding
10. Printed Materials for students
11. Ministry of Education involvement
12. Songs and other resources
13. Video Materials
14. University Research
15. Decision-making: When and What grades - bilingualism

IROQUOIS

1. Band Council and School Committee support
2. Community Support - involvement
3. Teacher Training
4. Professional Development
5. Better-informed Principals
6. Printed Materials for Teachers
7. Course Outlines
8. University Research
9. Printed Materials for students
10. Songs and other resources
11. Video materials
12. Evaluation of Teachers
13. Evaluation of Programs
14. Staff understanding
15. Consultant
16. Ministry of Education involvement

ALGONKIAN - SECOND LANGUAGE

1. Community Support - involvement
2. Band Council, School Committee support
3. Course Outlines
4. Better-informed Principals
5. Printed Materials for students
6. Teacher Training
7. Ministry of Education involvement
8. Evaluation of Programs
9. Consultant
10. Evaluation of Teachers
11. Professional Development
12. Staff understanding
13. Songs and other resources
14. University Research
15. Video Materials

APPENDIX B

NATIVE LANGUAGE ADVISORY COMMITTEE DOCUMENT

SEPTEMBER 1982

Native Language Advisory Committee Program Proposal
Submitted September 1982

The Ontario Native Language Advisory Committee (N.L.A.C.) met in Toronto on August 30-31st to discuss the future plans and future funding for Native Language programs in Ontario.

The Committee considered the present program funding as established for 1982-83. The funding is in four main areas: 1) Native Language Advisory Committee $5,000.00, 2) Native Language Development, $30,000.00, 3) Native Language Teacher Training 23,000.00, 4) Personnel 320,000, (C 17 Band employed teachers, 3 DIAND employed Teachers, 1 Native Language Program Administrator)

The committee recognized the need for long term planning and the need for the development of a strategy for obtaining the overall framework for Native Language program for the next five years.

The committee recognized that the formulation of this plan will take time and much deliberation to ensure a sound program direction.

It was decided to utilize the 1982-83 year for the development of the long range Native Language program objectives and for the refinement of the statement of purposes of N.L.A.C.

The committee reviewed the Northern Native Languages Project report (1980). This report was found to adequately represent language programs throughout the region. The committee accepted the report in principle and agreed to use this as a working paper from which to develop the long range plans.

Plan of Direction 1982-83

I In the current year 1982-83 the N.L.A.C. recommends that funds be made available for the publication of the Algonkian Grade 3 and the Iroquoian Grade 1, Core curriculums.

II The committee discussed the need to invite resource people to facilitate workshop/brainstorming sessions to assist us in our planning deliberations.

It was recognized that more than three regularily scheduled meetings will be necessary for the planning process over the 1982-83 year. The N.L.A.C. requests that additional monies be made available to hold one extra special meeting for the 1982-83 year.

Plan of Direction 1983-84

To ensure language program continuation and funding for the year 1983-84 the committee has made the following recommendations for program elements. The N.L.A.C. recognizes that these are short term recommendations and that this plan of direction is intermediary to the overall long term proposal.
The recommendations reflect the support and continuation of the presently existing program elements with an expansion to them.
The recommendations are in four main areas:

1) Material Development
2) Program Planning
3) Personnel
4) Policy recommendations 1983-84

Material Development

A Core Curriculums

The development of the core language curriculums for the Algonkian and Iroquoian languages is recognized as valuable and as a continuing project. The committee recommends that funds be made available for the research, development, field testing and art contracts for the Algonkian Grade 4 and the Iroquoian Grade 2 curriculum. The final publication stages to occur in 1984-85.

B Printing of Locally Developed School Materials

Language teachers and Native Education organizations have developed teaching resources for use in their areas. Presently most of the materials exist in a dittoed and rough format.

These materials need to be presented in a proper format to increase the integrity of the materials themselves. There is a need to locally have enough materials for the language class (es) use and there is a need to share these materials with other language teachers/groups for the overall development of language education development.
Presently while there is money to develop the materials to the print ready stage there are no funds available to take them to the utilization stage (printing). In the past this committee recognized the need to support the local areas by printing their materials. The need for this type of support still exists.
The N.L.A.C. recommends that monies be made available for the printing of locally developed materials.
The Committee further recommends that the N.L.A.C. be the reviewing body to recommend to the DIAND which materials are to be printed and distributed through this fund.

PERSONNEL

The Committee recommends that the DIAND continue its support to the Native Language Instructors Program (N.L.I.P.) as there is still a great need for more qualified language instructors throughout the Region.
The Committee recommends that the DIAND continue its support to permit the hiring of Native language instructors.
The Committee recognizes the unfeasibility of hiring language consultants at this time, but it recognizes the need for the continued Professional Development of the Native Language instructors.
The committee recommends that monies be made available for the 1983-84 school year to allow Native Language teachers to attend language conferences and /or workshops to ensure their continued professional development.
The monies should include, travel, room and board and supply teacher expenses.

PROGRAM PLANNING

The N.L.A.C. recognizes that its role is changing and expanding. Since the Committees' inception,it has added duties and responsibilities to its

original statement of purposes.
The N.L.A.C. recognizes that it is entering into yet another stage. The Committee recognizes that if more responsibilities are undertaken the quarterly meeting schedule will not be sufficient to keep abreast with the new functions.
The N.L.A.C. recommends that there be an increase in the monies allocated for meeting purposes to accommodate two extra meetings, (in total 5 meetings). The meetings will be used for the continued planning and forecasting the of Native Language program needs and for the refinement of the purposes of this committee.

POLICY

Native Language Handbook

As the Native Language Programs have continued to grow and develop, it has been determined that a Native Language Handbook is becoming essential to all educators involved in Native Language programs from teachers to principals to administrators and especially those planning new programs. The committee recommends that funds be made available for this development, printing and distribution of this handbook.

APPENDIX C

SUBMISSIONS TO THE ONTARIO ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

MOOSONEE, ONTARIO

FEBRUARY 1, 1978

1. IVOR JONES, JAMES BAY EDUCATION CENTRE, MOOSONEE, ONTARIO (PAGES 3139-40)
2. GARNET ANGECONEB, WA-WA-TA COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY, SIOUX LOOKOUT,ONTARIO (PAGES 3203-11)

"As matters now stand, local news is slow to reach the native communities of Kashechewan, Fort Albany and Attawapiskat because it must travel by word of mouth. Needless to say, the isolation of these communities is no help to such communication. Physical remoteness leads to a feeling of isolation in all walks of life. Improved broadcasting facilities would go a long way in promoting a free exchange of information and ideas and therefore an understanding of events as they occur.

"It is hoped that in the future C.H.M.O. will be housed in its own building with a broadcasting station in Moose Factory as well as the current one in Moosonee. Although this may seem insignificant to many, such a facility would avoid the problems encountered by the volunteer disc jockeys from Moose Factory at freeze-up and break-up times on the Moose River. As you can appreciate, our natural environment plays a major role in our lives in this area.

"With regards to television, one station, C.F.C.L. T.V., a C.B.C. affiliate from Timmins, is available in the Moosonee-Moose Factory area. Although having just one or two television stations may not be uncommon in northern Ontario, the use of the Cree language in the James Bay Lowlands gives added emphasis to the argument in favour of establishing a community television station originating out of Moosonee. A community

"television station offering local programming tailored to local needs and local culture would be invaluable. Meetings of the Moosonee Development Area Board and educational-instructional programming could be offered to both inform and educate the local people in not only English but also in Cree.

"TRANSPORTATION

"One of the major areas of development which concerns the people of the Moosonee-Moose Factory area is the development of transportation. Studies have been conducted such as the Feasibility Study for a Moosonee Access Road conducted by the Ministry of Transportation and Communications and released on August 18th, 1975. The conclusion to construct a road north to Moosonee was not recommended at that time. Instead, the government initiated a review of the then-available information on potential resources to assist in the final section of an alignment for an access road.

"Differences of opinion are expressed daily by the citizens of Moosonee-Moose Factory as to the advisability of constructing a roadway to connect Moosonee with the rest of the Province. Many of the native Cree population are not enthusiastic about the building of the road. They feel that it would be the end of tranquility as it is known today in the Lowlands. They feel it would be the end of their beautiful and precious wilderness.

heart but that is all I am going to say at this time. I do not - what I speak may sound like a fairy tale or it may be a dream but the way things were as my grandfather spoke of are - people living today speak of, as I speak of here today is what I live, may not die. That's all.

MR. LASKIN: Thank you, Frederick.

Our next presentation is going to be by Wa-Wa-Ta, who are just behind me here, and will be made by Garnet Angeconeb. You've always been behind us, Garnet, now you're facing us.

GARNET ANGECONEB

"Mr. Commissioner, we wish to present to present to you a brief on the importance of communications in the Treaty #9 region. A summary of progress made in providing communication services to date, and a set of goals and recommendations for the further development of communications in the Treaty #9 area. Wa-Wa-Ta believes that the development of communications is vital to the development of the Treaty #9 region. A reliable and accessible communication system can enable the people to share and discuss information they need to make decisions about matters which affect them. The communication system thus becomes a vital tool which enables native people to participate in their own development.

"THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNICATION

"We want to emphasize to you the importance

"of communication in our region. Our communities have no roads; we are dependent on the airplane beyond the range of our boats and ski-doos. Airplane service is not cheap. It costs about the same to fly the 275 miles from Sioux Lookout to Big Trout Lake as it costs to fly from Toronto to Thunder Bay, a distance more than three times as far, so that we must charter planes to reach the smaller communities. Flying is dependent on weather, as you are sure to learn when you come to visit us. Even in clear weather our smaller communities without airstrips are isolated for several weeks during freeze up and break up.

"There are also several problems with the mail services which make good telecommunications all the more important. Not everything can be done by telephone. We have to resort to some unusual and expensive methods to get vital information into the communities. For example, to distribute copies of the Wawatay supplement on the hearings during freeze up we chartered planes to drop papers tied in green garbage bags into the communities. This may be the first Royal Commission that has literally bombarded people with information! Reliable communication in emergencies is vitally important, particularly in smaller communities without nurses or Ontario Provincial Police, and without a local airplane available. For this reason alone, we believe that every community must have reliable telephone service. In a region where travel is so difficult

"and expensive, communication is also an important organizing tool - to enable leaders to plan meetings, discuss priorities, and make decisions.

"The use of communication in these hearings is an example of its importance. The telephone has been used to plan, organize, and coordinate activities of all the participants. Both radio and newspapers are being used to inform the people in their own language about the hearings so that they will be able to follow the statements made so that they will be prepared to participate in the community hearings. We believe that communication is also important to the economic development of our area by our people. For example, the use of the portable two-way radios has increased productivity from our fish camps by enabling the camps to call a plane to deliver a load of fresh fish to market before they spoil. Trappers are now using two-way radios to keep in touch with each other and their communities, to summon organizations serving the north, and to summon help in emergencies on the trapline.

"We use communication in many ways to administer our activities in the north: To coordinate and keep in touch with field workers, teachers, nurses, pilots, etc.; do business with commercial suppliers, banks, government agencies, etc.

"In 1971, the Chiefs set the tone for the communication development which has taken place in this decade. They cited communications as their first priority, and stressed the need for reliable communication within the region to link families, friends and parents, and to link the Chiefs and Councillors who had responsibility for planning and administering the development of their region. The Chiefs pointed out that without communication with each other, they were not able to plan and organize collectively, and were at a major disadvantage compared to the many government and commercial organizations that play a role in the region. The first step towards that goal was the northern pilot project sponsored by the Department of Communications which provided two-way HF radios to six communities and start-up funding for the community radio station CFTL in Big Trout Lake. The HF radio network was expanded to 24 communities with the assistance of DOC and the Indian Community Secretariat. Important as the equipment itself, the process of this project which involved the Chiefs in all major decisions and which emphasized participation of the communities in helping with installations, providing a building for the radios, and in taking responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the equipment. The project used a community development approach through field staff who worked closely with the communities and who provided training in equipment operation and maintenance, radio program production and manage-

"ment.

"In 1973, the Wa-Wa-Ta native communications was formed to take over management of the northern pilot project two-way radio system, to coordinate native communications activities in the region, and to keep the people in the remote communities informed about communication activities and policies that will affect them. Wa-Wa-Ta believes that a philosophy of participation and community development is the key to the development of communications and all other services in the Treaty #9 area. In our own organization, we received direction from our Board of Directors who represent the people of the northern communities. We have tried to plan our programs to respond to their needs and to keep them informed of communication matters that will affect them. We are still trying to meet the goal of better communication within the region. Our High Frequency radio system now serves 37 communities, and we have made radios available to people on the trapline and the hunting and fishing camps. These trail communication systems will still be needed even when the telephones are available in all the communities. We have provided assistance to communities interested in starting their own radio stations. Muskrat Dam is now on the air, and there are plans to assist more communities in setting up community radio.

"Wa-Wa-Ta also publishes a monthly

"newspaper, the WaWaTay News, in English and in Indian syllabics also providing translation services. However, we are pleased that the communication needs of this area are now also being addressed by the common carriers and the CBC. Under the remote northern telecommunications project, Bell Canada with the financial assistance of the Ontario Ministry of Transportation and Communications is providing reliable telephone service to 22 communities for the first time. Three James Bay coast communities will receive reliable service from Ontario Northland.

"Under the accelerated coverage plan, the CBC will provide raio and television service to communities with a population of 500 or more. In the Treaty #9 region, the communities of Big Trout Lake, Fort Hope, New Osnaburgh, Pikangikum, Sandy Lake, Attawapiskat, Fort Albany and Kashechewan will receive service. The CBC has offered access to the local radio transmitters to communication societies in these communities. Sandy Lake is already on the air, and other communities are preparing for local access. The CBC through radio station CBQ in Thunder Bay is also sponsoring a weekly Cree language program which is already very popular with those who can receive it.

"WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

"Much progress has been made but much

"work remains to be done to meet the communication needs of the Treaty #9 people. To southerners, it may seem that we have done very well. Most of our people now have telephone service and the largest centres have CBC service as well. But population figures are misleading. It is of no consolation to the residents of Summer Beaver to hear that Bell Canada is providing service to 22 communities when he is still relying on a two-way radio. There are 7 permanent communities with no reliable telephone service planned.

"Even having a telephone in a community may be a mixed blessing - if there is only one telephone. The Chiefs of Sachigo and Muskrat Dam have pointed out that one pay phone is entirely inadequate because it will present hardship for the people to come from all over the village to make and receive calls, and it will not be easily accessible in emergencies, especially at night. The Chiefs have questioned the wisdom of investing in a multi-million dollar communication program and then providing only one pay phone in that community.

"There are other problems concerning the quality of our telecommunication services. Breakdowns in the local exchange service may not be repaired for weeks. People may get charged for calls they did not make on phones that did not work. It may take hours to get

"a circuit in or out of some communities. We have tried all day to get through to the one telephone in Lac Seul. These problems are not insurmountable. In a few minutes we will outline to you some ways we think they might be solved. But they do point out that there are still many issues to be resolved.

"Concerning broadcasting, the needs are greater still. Radio has become a vital source of information to the people in our region. Many of them have used the radio to learn about this Commission and to discuss its importance to them. But access to radio in our area is still very limited. Our communities are small: 25 of them do not qualify for CBC service. Other ways must be found to bring radio service to them.

"Again, statistics may be misleading. Our largest communities will receive CBC service, and they represent about 20% of the remote population. But considering the frustrations of the people of Bearskin Lake, Wunnimmun Lake and Kingfisher Lake who are to be served by the same microwave system that will bring radio and TV to Big Trout Lake, while they will receive no broadcasting service at all.

"We are making efforts to find ways of extending radio services by helping communities to start their own stations or to receive the signal from another community. We had hoped that the new telecommunications system would

"help us to develop a regional radio network. But it appears that the technology is dividing us from each other as much as it is tying us together. We cannot afford to link communities with satellite service such as Muskrat Dam to those with terrestrial service such as Sandy Lake or Sioux Lookout. To do so we would have to lease a line all the way back to Allen Park near Toronto to get onto the Satellite. Not even the CBC can afford to do this, so Fort Hope which will receive CBC programming by satellite, will not get the programs from Thunder Bay, which provide much useful information about northwestern Ontario.

"GOALS FOR COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN ONTARIO

"We propose the following goals for communication service in the Treaty #9 region:

1. Reliable telephone service for all permanent settlements;

2. Local telephone exchange service for all communities that request this service;

3. Radio broadcast coverage of every community with programming that reflects the cultural needs of the region, e.g. including programming in native languages and programming relevant to native people in the region;

4. Participation by the norther communities in all decisions on communication services